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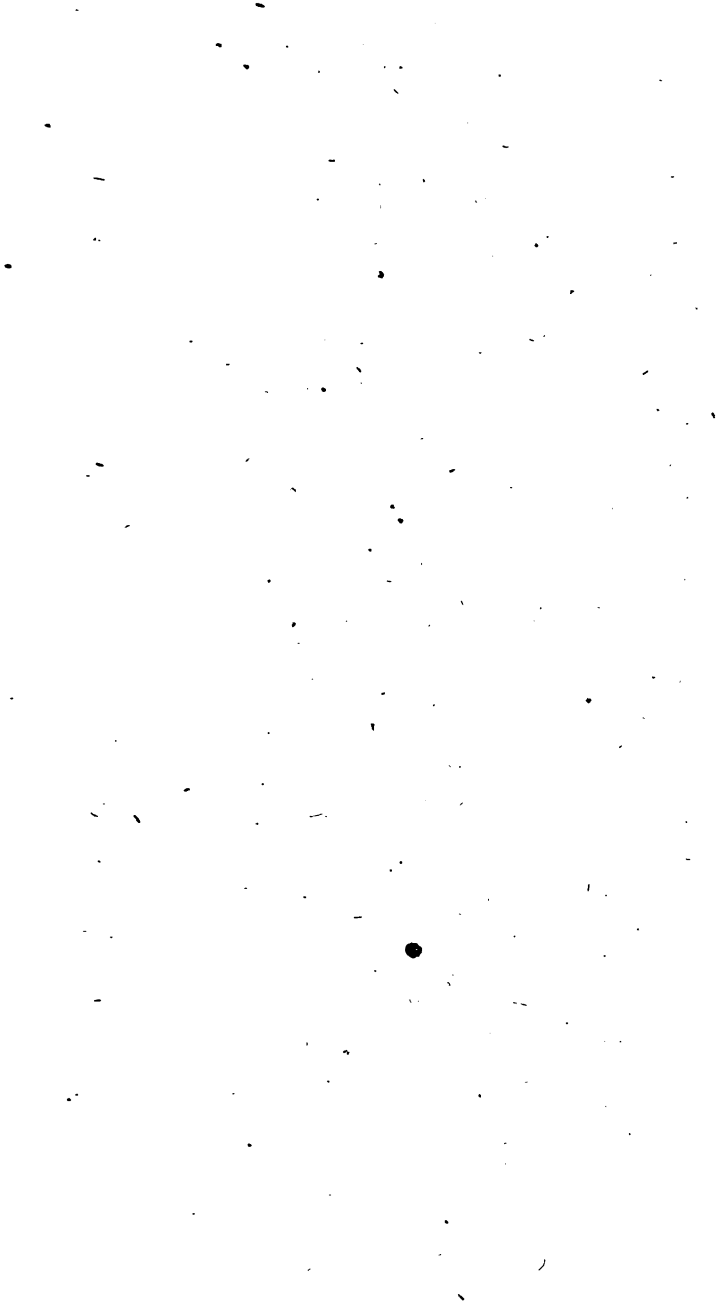
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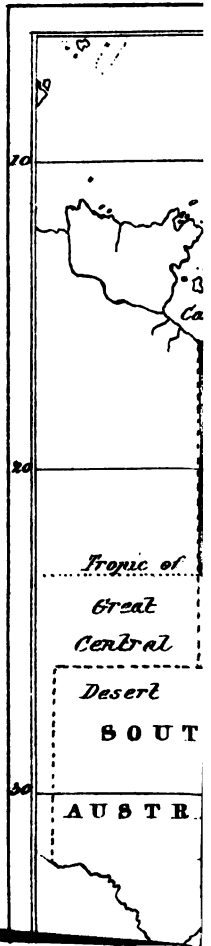
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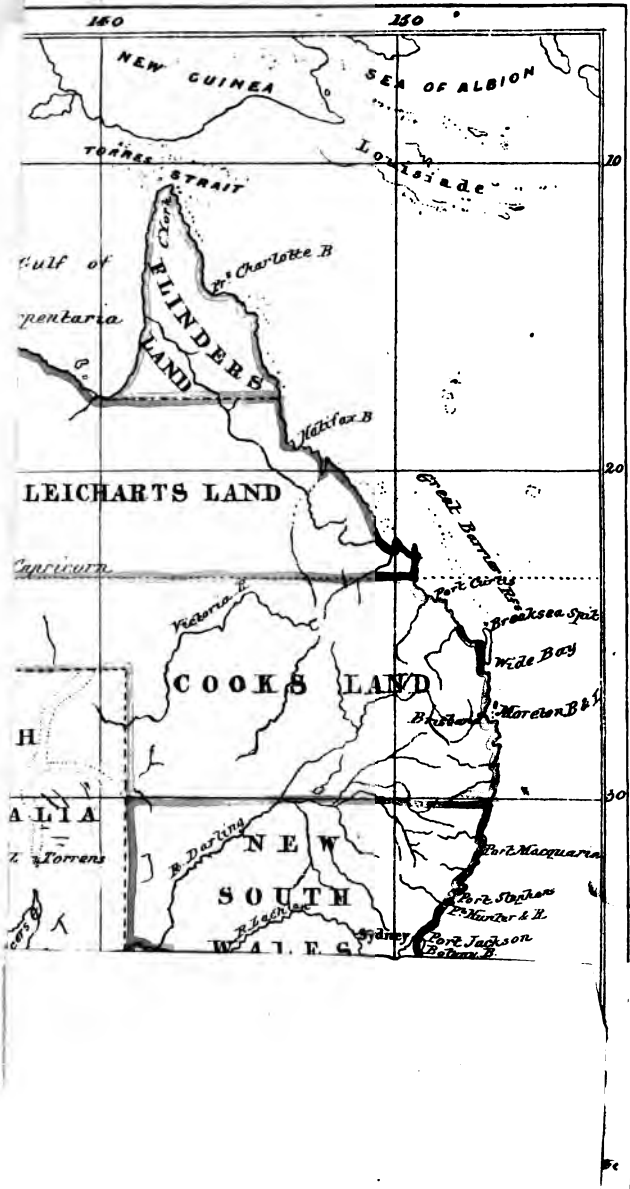






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FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE

FOR

THE GOLDEN LANDS

OF

A U S T R A L I A ;

THE RIGHT OF THE COLONIES,

AND

THE INTEREST OF BRITAIN AND OF THE WORLD.

BY

JOHN DUNMORE LANG, D.D. A.M.

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ORIENTAL SOCIETY, AND OF THE LITERARY INSTITUTE OF OLINDA,  
IN THE BRAZILS.

---

“Primo pecuniæ, dein imperii cupido crevit. Ea quasi materies  
omnium malorum fuere.” — SALLUST. *Catilin.* c. x.

First the love of gain, and then the lust of empire.—these have  
been the principles of British colonization, and the source of  
innumerable evils.

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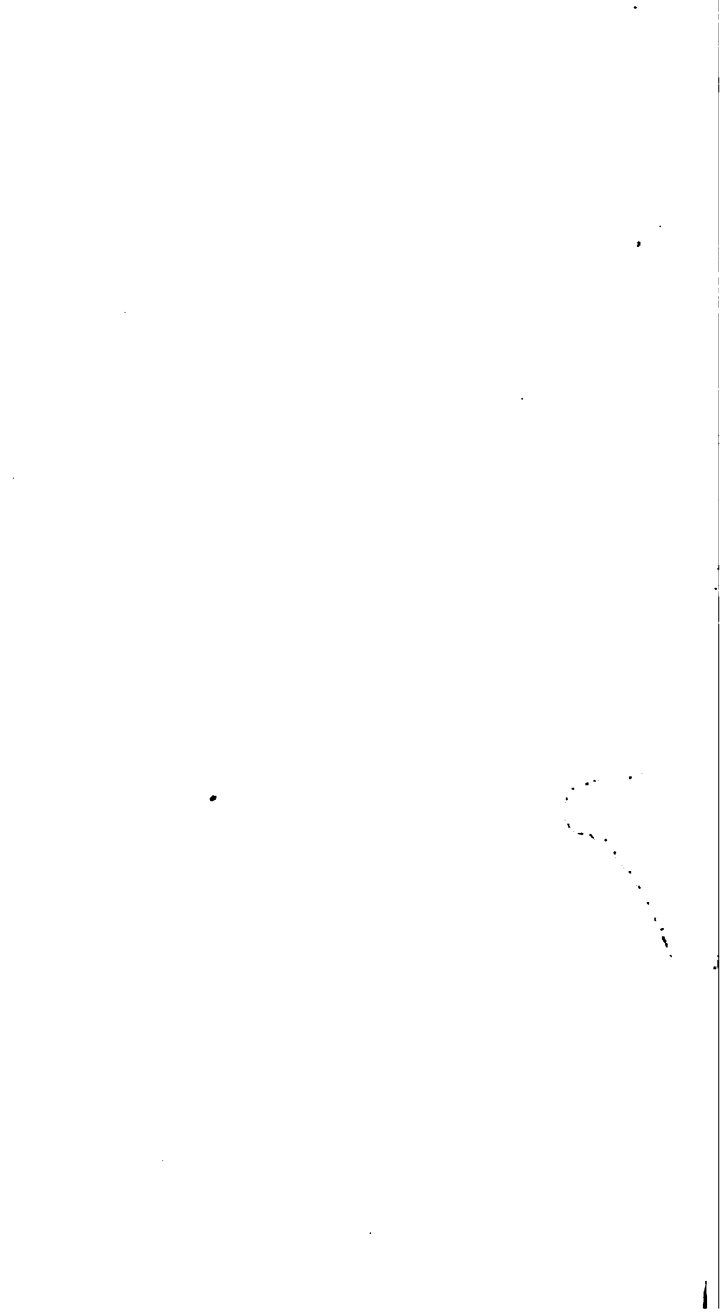
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TO  
  
THE INHABITANTS  
  
OF THE COLONY OF  
  
VICTORIA,

AS BEING LIKELY TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN THE GREAT NATIONAL  
MOVEMENTS OF THE AUSTRALIAN FUTURE,

THE FOLLOWING WORK  
  
IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED BY  
  
THE AUTHOR.



## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THE following work was originally written, during the author's seventh voyage from New South Wales to England, in the year 1852, and was published in London towards the close of that year. In the early part of the year 1854, a second edition, greatly enlarged and improved, and embodying much additional original matter, was preparing for publication in the colonies; and the printing of that edition had proceeded as far as the 360th page of this volume, when the breaking out of the Russian war on the one hand, and the anticipated advent of Free Institutions for the Australian Colonies on the other, induced the author to suspend its publication for a time, to await the issue of these important events.

The recent concession of Responsible Government to the Australian Colonies is doubtless an important step towards the grand consummation to which they are fast hastening, and for which this work is intended to prepare them—their entire freedom and national independence: and although the late war has issued for the present in an unsatisfactory and inglorious peace—belieing all the promises of its commencement, disappointing the hopes of the friends of freedom throughout the civilized world, and lowering exceedingly the national prestige of Great Britain as a Naval and Military



power, while it has magnified and exalted, beyond all former precedent, that of Russia — it is quite evident, from the present state of things throughout the European world, that this peace is not likely to be of long duration ; being merely the portentous calm prelude to a whole series of national convulsions and revolutions, which, in all likelihood, will render the separation of these colonies from the mother-country a measure of self-defence against hostile aggression, and a grand political necessity of the future, at a much earlier period than is generally anticipated.

In such circumstances, it is equally desirable and necessary that all intelligent colonists — especially in the province of Victoria, which is likely to take the initiative in all the great national movements of the Australian future — should make themselves well-acquainted with the real bearings of this peculiarly colonial question, the mutual relations of the mother country and the colonies, and especially with their *own* rights and interests as British colonists. This is doubtless the more needful, on the part of all right-minded Colonists, as, under the bad system of government that has universally prevailed, till very recently, in the British colonies, from the earliest times of British Colonization — neglected as the colonies always were on the one hand, and thwarted in their every effort for their own social and political advancement on the other — British Colonists, as a class, have in too many instances become apathetic and indifferent in regard to their own rights and interests, and have sunk down into a condition of social, moral and political degradation. To use the language of an eminent New England patriot, who flourished shortly before the commencement, of the American troubles of last century, “There has been a most profound, and I think a shameful silence

till it seems almost too late to assert our indisputable rights as men and as citizens." \* There has also prevailed among colonists generally, perhaps as the natural consequence of this state of things, a very exorbitant idea of the rights of the Mother Country in regard to the colonies. "Many," says the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Franklin, in the preface to his *Considerations on the Nature and the Extent of the Authority of the British Parliament*, — "Many will perhaps be surprised to see the legislative authority of the British Parliament over the colonies denied *in every instance*. These the writer informs, that, when he began this piece, he would probably have been surprised at such an opinion himself. For it was the result, not the occasion, of his disquisitions. He entered upon them with a view and expectation of being able to trace some constitutional line between those cases in which we ought, and those in which we ought not, to acknowledge the power of parliament over us. In the prosecution of his inquiries he became fully convinced that *such a line doth not exist*; and that there can be no medium between acknowledging and denying that power in ALL CASES," †

It is now a great deal too late in the day to accuse any person who conscientiously advocates the separation of any particular group of British Colonies from the Mother Country, and their erection into a Sovereign and Independent State, as a measure of the greatest possible benefit to both parties — it is now a great

\* *The Rights of the British Colonies asserted and proved*, By James Otis, Esq. Boston, New England, 1765, page 63.

† *Considerations on the Nature and the Extent of the Authority of the British Parliament*. By Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Rivington's New York Gazetteer, Oct. 30th, 1774.

deal too late in the day to accuse such a person of disloyalty or rebellion. The views enunciated in this volume, as to the propriety of the speedy and entire separation of the Australian Colonies from Great Britain, and their erection into a great Confederation of Sovereign and Independent States, are in perfect accordance with those of the greatest patriots and statesmen of the Mother Country — in particular, with those of the late Right Honourable Mr. Huskisson, of the present Earl of Ellenborough, of Lord Brougham, Lord Ashburton, and Lord St. Vincent. For the principle which these eminent men have applied to the case of the British North American Colonies is, *a fortiori*, much more applicable to the British Colonies of Australia. In a debate, in the House of Lords, on the 15th June, 1854, (reported in the *Times* of the following day), on the Duke of Newcastle's Motion for the Second Reading of the Canada Legislative Council Bill, the EARL OF ELLENBOROUGH spoke as follows :

“ We made such progress last year in the work of concession to Canada, that the question now was, ~~not~~ whether we should stop in our career, still less whether we should attempt to go back, but whether we should not, in the most friendly spirit towards Canada and the other North American Colonies, consult with their Legislatures on the expediency of taking measures for the complete release of those colonies from all dependence on the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain. He recollected having a conversation with Mr. Huskisson in 1828, during the time that Statesman held the seals of the Colonial office, in which he intimated most distinctly that the time had already arrived for the separation of Canada from this country ; and Mr. Huskisson had even so maturely considered the matter that he mentioned the form of government which he

thought it would be for our interest to have established in Canada, when our connexion with the colony should cease. \* \* \* What was the use — what the practical advantage of continuing our connexion with the Colonies? The connexion might be of some small use in time of peace; but, on the other hand, consider the danger arising from it in matters relating to war. \* \* \* It was certain that in the event of war occurring between this country and the United States, on grounds totally unconnected with the Colonies, they must, from their connexion with us, be drawn into the war, and their whole frontier would be exposed to the greatest calamities. Under these circumstances, it was a matter worthy of serious consideration whether we should not endeavour, in the most friendly manner, to divest ourselves of a connexion which must prove equally onerous to both parties. Now, in case of war, could we hope to defend the colonies successfully? \* \* \* Considering the increased strength and appliances at the command of the United States, it would hardly be possible to defend ~~Canada~~ with any hope of success. \* \* \* Under these circumstances, he hoped that, at an early period, the ~~Government~~ would communicate with the leading persons in the Legislative Assemblies of the North American Colonies, with the view of ascertaining their opinion on the subject of separation. We should consult with them in the most friendly spirit, as if they were members of one and the same family in which we felt a deep concern.”

After some declamatory observations, of an opposite tendency, from the Duke of Newcastle, “LORD BROUGHAM wished to say one word, after the severe rebuke which had been given by the noble Duke. He had the misfortune of coming within the description of persons against whom the noble Duke had so powerfully and

indignantly declaimed — namely, those who, while desiring a separation of Canada, as a colony, from the Mother Country, did not wish to throw the colonists over or to abandon them. And why should the noble Duke denounce so vehemently this opinion? It was by no means novel. It had been entertained and expressed by many eminent men. It was an opinion shared in by Lord Ashburton and by Lord St. Vincent; and those who held the doctrine of separation did so, not because they were disposed to undervalue the importance of Canada, but rather because they highly estimated the importance of that country. They believed that after a certain period of time — after what was called “passing the youth of nations,” that of a colonial life — the best thing that could happen to a country in colonial connexion with an old State was, that without any quarrel, without any coldness or alienation of any sort, but with perfect amity and goodwill, and on purely voluntary grounds, there should succeed to that colonial connexion a connexion between two Free and Independent States.”

The same idea was also entertained by the celebrated Dr. Arnold, who seems to have had our Australian Colonies in his eye when he penned the following observation. “When the time arrives at which a colony is to great to be dependent, *distance making union impossible with a mother-country at the end of the earth*, the only alternative is COMPLETE SEPARATION.”

As the greater part of the following work was in print in the year 1854, the state of things which it exhibits in the different Australian Colonies, in regard to population and the forms and expenses of Government then existing, has very much passed away.\* But there

\* The population of the Australian Colonies (leaving out of account that of Western Australia,) is probably, at this moment

is only a very minute portion of the work to which this observation will apply. By far the greater part of it deals with first principles and historical facts, which are equally true and incontrovertible at all times.

There is no great public question in which the British nation has so deep an interest, or in regard to which a large proportion of the intelligence of the country is so profoundly and fatally ignorant, as the Colonial question, or the proper relation of a mother-country to her colonies. A system of government for the British colonies has accordingly been suffered to grow up, as if by sheer accident, and to subsist in great measure unquestioned, as far at least as its fundamental principles are concerned, to the present day—a system, however, wholly unwarranted by the law of nature and nations, and not less unjust and oppressive towards its more immediate objects than disastrous and suicidal in its tendencies and results to those who uphold it.

There is no subject also on which the literature of this country presents so complete a blank. Of the many books on the Colonies with which the British press perpetually teems, where are there any that go to the root of the matter, and discuss with manly freedom the first principles of colonization? For my own part I know of none. A few glimmerings of light were, doubtless, struck out on the subject during the great struggle for freedom and independence in America; but these were soon trodden out again

nearly as follows: viz.; Victoria 400.000; New South Wales, (including Moreton Bay, which is about to be erected into a distinct colony, and has now a population of Twenty thousand) 300.000; South Australia, 100.000, and Tasmania or Van Dieman's Land 70.000, making 870.000 in all.

under the iron hoof of irresponsible power, and as far at least as colonization in the Southern Hemisphere is concerned, the last state of the British colonies is worse than the first: for instead of going forward in the right direction, since the days of the Charleses, we have actually been going back!

It is the object of the following work to point out the right principles of colonization, and to confirm the theory that is thus advanced by an appeal to the principles and practice of those nations, both in ancient and modern times, whose efforts in the work of colonization have not only been the most successful, but have, notwithstanding all our boasting on the subject, presented a perfect contrast with our own. In short, it is the object of the writer to show, that Great Britain has hitherto been all wrong in her principles and practice in the matter of colonization, and that, in common with the colonies themselves, she has been reaping the bitter fruits of this fatal mistake for two centuries and a half.

Sydney, New South Wales, May 16th, 1857.

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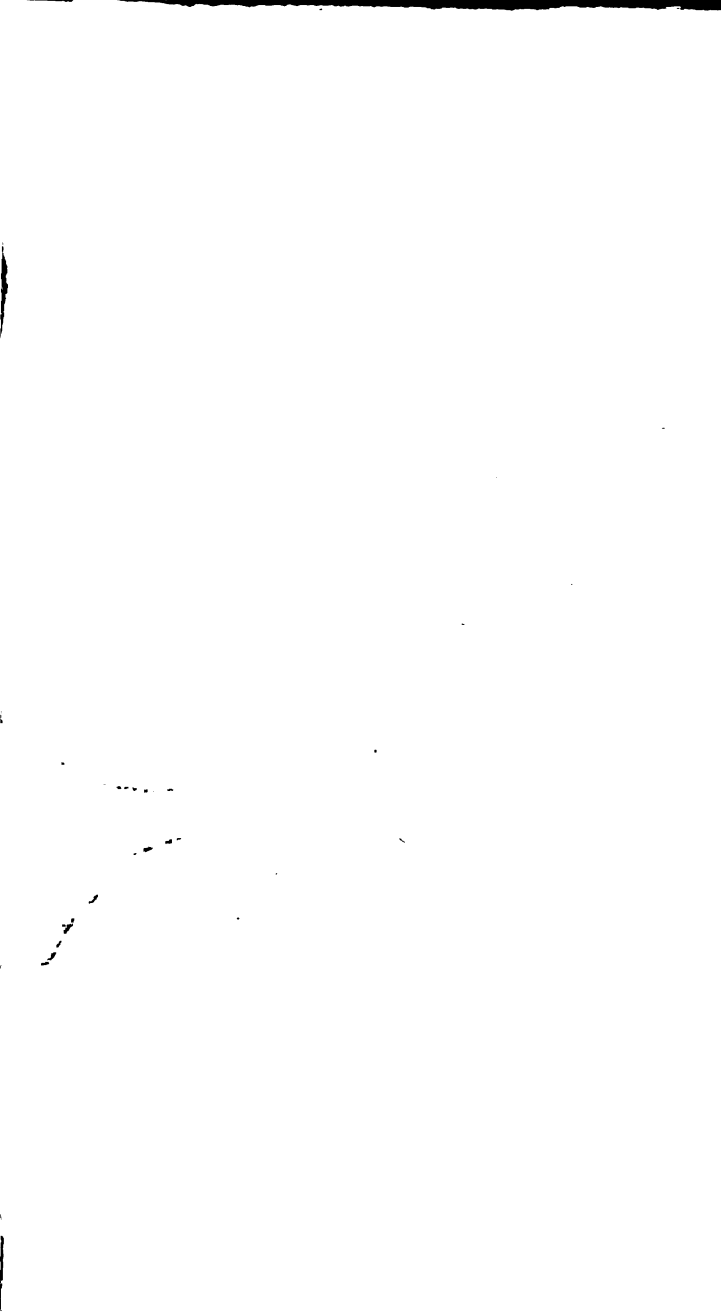
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10

# FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE

FOR THE

## GOLDEN LANDS OF AUSTRALIA.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### THE RIGHTS OF COLONIES.

##### SECTION I.—DEFINITIONS AND LIMITATIONS.

A COLONY is a body of people who have gone forth from the Parent State, either simultaneously or progressively, and formed a permanent settlement in some remote territory, whether that territory has been already occupied by an inferior race or not.

There are therefore two things necessary to constitute a colony properly so called; viz. 1st. Emigration from the Parent State; and, 2nd. Permanent settlement in the occupied territory: and if any dependent community is deficient in either of these essentials, it cannot with propriety be designated a colony of the country to which it is subject or on which it is dependent.\*

\* Of colonization, the principal elements are, emigration and the permanent settlement of the emigrants on unoccupied land. A colony, therefore, is a country wholly or partially unoccupied, which receives emigrants from a distance; and it is a colony of the country from which the emigrants proceed, which is therefore called the mother country.—*A View of the Art of Colonization, &c.* By Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Esq. London, 1849, p. 16.

A British colony is therefore a community of Britons, however formed, permanently settled in some country or territory beyond seas. It is a gross abuse of language to apply the designation to any community constituted otherwise; and the prevalence of this abuse serves only to maintain the palpable delusion that the colonies of Britain, or British colonies properly so called, either are, or ever were either numerous or extensive, as compared with the population and resources of the Parent State. This delusion serves to foster our national pride, while it blinds us to our national danger: it feeds our national vanity, and prevents us from doing our national duty.

Agreeably to this definition, we must exclude from the list of British colonies all such foreign possessions of the British empire as India, Ceylon, Malta, and the Ionian Islands. These countries are all doubtless dependencies of the British empire, but they are in no respect British colonies. Ninety-nine out of every hundred of their inhabitants, or rather perhaps nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand, neither are nor ever have been Britons; and the mere handful of Britons who go to any of these colonies never think of forming permanent settlements in them, and of thereby identifying themselves, "for better, for worse," with their inhabitants. They go to them either to make money or to get honour and glory in the world, and *to return* to spend the evening of their days in their native land. They have none of the peculiar feelings, desires, or prospects of colonists, properly so called, and never can have.

Our definition must also exclude all such dependencies of the British empire as Lower Canada, the Mauritius, St. Lucia, the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, and Trinidad. Not one of these dependencies is a

British colony properly so called. The first three—Lower Canada, the Mauritius, and St. Lucia—were French colonies, conquered and appropriated by Great Britain. The Cape of Good Hope and Demerara were Dutch colonies acquired in a similar way; and Trinidad is merely a conquered colony of Spain. In short, in regard to not a few of the transmarine possessions or dependencies of the empire, which we are in the habit of designating, with great self-complacency, *our colonies*, we have been realizing pretty much the popular idea of the cuckoo, which, it is said, builds no nest of her own, but lays her solitary egg in that of some other bird and forthwith takes possession. In all the instances enumerated—and the list might be somewhat extended if it were necessary—we have merely seized the colonies of other weaker people; and after depositing our solitary egg in them, we have called them *ours*, as if we had planted them from the first. *British colonies*, forsooth! It is a most unwarrantable misnomer. As old Cato well observes—*Jampridem equidem vera nomina rerum amisimus—largiri aliena vocatur liberalitas*: or, in plain English, “We have long lost the proper names for things—for instance, making free with other people’s possessions is called *British Colonization!*” \* How many Britons ever go to the foreign colonies we have thus appropriated? The merest handful comparatively. How many of these even go to them merely to make money and to return? Almost the whole of them.

Neither are the really British islands of the West Indies—Jamaica, Barbadoes, St. Vincent, &c., including the Bahama Islands—entitled to be called *British colonies*. At least nine out of every ten of the inhabitants of these islands are either Africans, or the

\* Cato’s Speech in Sallust, De Conjur. Catilin.



descendants of Africans who were originally stolen from their native country, and made slaves of, to grow sugar, cotton, and coffee for Englishmen; and the very few Britons comparatively who ever went to them went merely to make money, and to return. These islands are therefore merely British plantations—they are in no respect British colonies, properly so called; both of the essential requisites of a really British colony being wanting: for the negroes, who constitute so large a proportion of the entire population, never emigrated from Great Britain, and the negro-drivers regularly return to the mother country whenever they can afford to do so.

Still less are we entitled to profane the designation *British colony*—which I confess I consider a very high and honourable distinction for any community, and one that ought not to be lightly applied or appropriated where it is not deserved—by applying it to any of those numerous posts or stations that are held either for naval and military purposes, or for the furtherance and protection of commerce: such as Heligoland, Gibraltar, Bermuda, Honduras, St. Helena, Ascension, Sierra Leone, the Gambia River, Aden, Malacca, Pulo Penang or Prince of Wales Island, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Labuan. It would be equally absurd to call the Eddystone Lighthouse and Tilbury Fort *British colonies*, as to apply that much abused designation to such places as these. They are all British possessions, and it is doubtless necessary for the purposes of a great maritime and commercial nation that they should always remain so; but not one of them is a *British colony*, properly so called.

What then are the British colonies, properly so called: as it is evident they must now be reduced to a very small number indeed, as compared with the long

list of what are commonly called *British colonies*? They are—

1. The North American colonies of Upper Canada, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island

2. The Australian colonies of New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, South Australia, Victoria or Port Phillip, and Western Australia, or Swan River.

3. The New Zealand group of islands—begun to be colonized but yesterday.

4. The Falkland Islands—still in the clouds.

5. Vancouver's Island—ditto.

#### SECTION II.—OBJECTS OF COLONIZATION.

What then are the proper and legitimate objects which such a country as Great Britain ought to have in view or to propose to herself in forming such colonies as these—British colonies, properly so called? They are—

1. To secure an eligible outlet for her redundant population of all grades and classes.

2. To create a market for her manufactured produce by increasing and multiplying its consumers indefinitely.

3. To open up a field for the growth of raw produce for her trade and manufactures; and,

4. To sustain and extend her commerce by carrying out all these objects simultaneously.

Now these are noble objects for any nation to pursue; and no wonder that Lord Bacon should designate the peculiar work they indicate *the heroic work* of colonization. Nay, it is something more even than a merely heroic work: it is the course divinely prescribed in the

first commandment given to the human race, *Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it* ;\* and it may, therefore, be inferred that it can never be safe for any nation to neglect this work, if in the peculiar circumstances to which the commandment applies. For, as *God made the earth to be inhabited*,† he will certainly hold that nation, which he has specially called in his Providence to carry out this divine ordinance, responsible for the neglect of its proper duty, if it has been neglected, and will afflict and punish it accordingly. For while Divine Providence has peculiar benefits and advantages in reserve for nations, as well as for individuals, who pursue the prescribed course, whether in politics or in anything else, it has pains and penalties of an endless variety of forms, and of an infinity of degrees of pressure, for those nations or individuals who act otherwise.

It must be clear therefore as daylight that Great Britain has been specially called, in the good Providence of God, to the *heroic* work of colonization. She has by far the largest Colonial Empire in the world : she has facilities for colonization such as no other nation on earth has ever had since the foundation of the world : and she has a remarkably redundant, and at the same time a peculiarly energetic, people, the fittest on earth for this heroic work, and the most willing to engage in it heartily. And it must be equally clear, from our very limited experience on the subject as a colonizing nation, that a regular and systematic obedience of the divine commandment, on the part of Great Britain, would, in such circumstances, enable her to realize all the objects of colonization enumerated above ; or, 'in other words, would infallibly secure an eligible outlet

\* Genesis, i. 28.

† Isaiah, xlv. 12. 18.

for her redundant population, of all grades and classes ; create a market for her manufactured produce by increasing and multiplying its consumers indefinitely ; open up a field for the growth of raw produce for her trade and manufactures to any conceivable extent ; and sustain and extend her commerce simultaneously, to a degree hitherto unparalleled in the history of the world.

But from " the beggarly account of empty boxes " which the history of British colonization, properly so called, has hitherto exhibited, as compared with the population and resources of the empire, it must be equally clear and undeniable that Great Britain has utterly failed both in discharging her proper duty as a nation in this important respect, and in realizing the proper benefits and advantages of colonization to anything like the extent to which they might have been realized ; and that she must consequently have incurred the pains and penalties which Divine Providence justly and properly attaches to such neglect. The Condition-of-England question, but more especially the Condition-of-Ireland question, for twenty-five years past, sufficiently declares what these pains and penalties are. They are, 1st. The extraordinary redundance of the population, of all grades and classes, as compared with the means of comfortable subsistence and eligible employment for these grades and classes respectively ; 2nd. The unnatural and enormous competition for employment and subsistence to which this state of things gives rise among what are called the respectable classes of society, of all ranks, occupations, and professions ; 3rd. The periodical stagnations of commerce, arising from over-production and the want of outlets, and the frequent ruin of merchants, manufacturers, and traders of all kinds, to which this redundance and competition

necessarily lead ; 4th. The frequently recurring periods of want of employment for the industrious classes, and the wide-spread destitution which it occasions, together with the normal condition of abject poverty and misery into which whole masses of the humbler classes are constantly sinking ; 5th. The fearful increase of pauperism in numerous localities throughout the United Kingdom, in which such a condition of society was quite unknown, within the memory even of the present generation ; and, 6th. The frightful increase of crime and of a criminal population, not to speak of the serious and successive shocks which the moral principle of the nation generally must sustain in this downward progress of society.

In the year 1831, during one of those periods of distress, arising from want of employment, among the working classes, which are now of such frequent recurrence throughout the United Kingdom, I happened to be spending an hour or two with the late Rev. Dr. Chalmers, of Edinburgh ; and the conversation happening to turn upon the state of the poor and the distress of the times, Dr. C. inveighed, as I thought, somewhat severely, against the improvidence of the humbler classes, and especially their early and imprudent marriages ; enlarging upon the necessity of applying the principle of moral restraint somewhat more effectually, to prevent the population from outrunning the means of subsistence. These sentiments, I confess, grated rather harshly upon my ear, as a British colonist ; and notwithstanding my habitual veneration for the great and good man, I took the liberty to inform him that I was accustomed to take for my maxim in political economy the divine commandment recorded in the first chapter of the book of Genesis, repeating the passage above cited ; and adding, that after riding over millions

of acres of as fine land as the sun ever shone on, and in one of the finest climates on the face of the earth, lying utterly waste, I could not help thinking that the divine commandment was a right one after all, and that there must be something radically wrong in our social and political system in not applying the remedy which the case demanded, viz., that of extensive colonization. "Aye," replied Dr. Chalmers, with remarkably good humour, "that may be very sound doctrine in your colony, but it will not do *here*," meaning Edinburgh. I am persuaded however that it is *there*, chiefly, and in every place similarly situated in the United Kingdom, that the doctrine is peculiarly applicable.\*

SECTION III.—IS THE EXTENSION OF THE EMPIRE OF THE COLONIZING, OR MOTHER COUNTRY, A PROPER AND LEGITIMATE OBJECT OF COLONIZATION ?

If the extension of the empire of the mother country were compatible with the attainment of all the proper and legitimate objects of colonization enumerated above, this would be an open question, which I have no hesitation in saying, every rightly constituted mind would be predisposed to answer in the affirmative. But there

\* It was the strong impression which was produced upon my mind, by contemplating the state of things among the working classes of the mother country, as compared with that of persons of the same classes in this colony, at the period referred to in the text, that induced me to make the important experiment which I was enabled to make at that period, by bringing out a whole ship-load of Scotch mechanics, per the *Stirling Castle*, to New South Wales, in the year 1831, with a view to originate an extensive emigration of the working classes of the United Kingdom to this Territory. That experiment, I may add, was completely successful, and was productive of very important social and economical results to this Colony.

is a *previous question* to be answered; viz., "Is the extension of the empire of the mother country compatible with the attainment of the other and legitimate ends of colonization?" and this question I have no hesitation in answering in the negative—it is not. Whether empire be made the direct object of colonization, or merely regarded as a necessary inference or corollary from it, the mother country must in either case make up her mind to the sacrifice and loss of all the *other* objects for which colonization is either warrantable or desirable. And this is precisely what has hitherto been done by every mother country in Europe, our own not excepted. Like the foolish dog, in the fable, when swimming across a rapid river with a lump of beef in his mouth—in order to catch at the shadow, *empire*, we drop the substance, *beef*; and we then find to our unspeakable mortification, and perhaps disgrace, that both are gone! This has been the brief history of European colonization, without one solitary exception, ever since the discovery of America. The final result may not indeed have been arrived at as yet, in certain instances, but we are certainly hurrying rapidly towards it in all.\*

\* "It is a most extraordinary feature in the character of the British Government, that while the people of England itself are under the mildest possible laws, and enjoy the largest amount of liberty of any nation in the world, the colonies of England, which are justly esteemed her pride and her strength, are subjected to a dominion more assimilated to that of Russia and Turkey than anything else. In the colonies, the genius of British liberty is no longer to be found. Her mild sway is exchanged for the iron rod of the despot, and those who were her children in her native land have become the subjects and the slaves of petty tyrants. The truth of this will be found in the history of every colony, and felt in the experience of every colonist; its effects have been the premature separation of the first American colonies, the recent rebel-

Mr. Wakefield, who has a theory of his own on this subject, which he puts forth, however, somewhat hesitatingly, would paint the *shadow*, and call it *prestige*, which he thinks a good equivalent for the solid *beef*: let him dine upon *prestige* by all means.

Mr. Wakefield observes:—

“Regarding colonial government as an essential part of colonization, the question remains, whether the government of the colony by the mother country is equally so. Is the subordination of the colony to the mother country, as respects government, an essential condition of colonization? I should say not.”\*

Another able writer, however,—a member of the late parliament, holding office under Lord John Russell’s Government—speaks somewhat more to the point than Mr Wakefield on this important subject:—

“The contrivance of a subordinate government,” observes that writer, “renders the government of a distant territory *possible*, but does not render it *good*.”

And again:—

“So great are the disadvantages of dependencies, that it is in general fortunate for a civilized country to be sufficiently powerful to have an independent government, and to be ruled by natives”

lion and bloodshed in Canada, the ruin of the present settlers of New Zealand, the extravagant expenditure of this Government, and the demand upon England for money to support it.”—*New Zealand, in 1842; or, the Effects of a Bad Government on a Good Country. In a Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Stanley, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.* By S. M. D. Martin, M.D., President of the New Zealand Aborigines’ Protection Association, and lately a Magistrate of the Colony. Auckland (New Zealand), 1842.

\* *A View of the Art of Colonization, &c.*, p. 17. London, 1849.



And again :—

“The disadvantages in question arise principally from the ignorance and indifference of the dominant country about the position and interests of the dependency.”

“The dominant country, in consequence of this ignorance, often abstains from interfering with the concerns of the dependency when its interference would be expedient; and when it does interfere with the concerns of the dependency, its interference, as not being guided by the requisite knowledge of these concerns, is frequently ill-judged and mischievous.”\*

Mr. Lewis, however, subjoins a very consolatory reflection for all colonists; to whom he administers at the same time what he doubtless considers very judicious advice :—

“If the inhabitants of dependencies were conscious that many of the inconveniences of their lot are not imputable to the neglect, or ignorance, or selfishness of their rulers, but are the necessary consequences of the form of their government, they would be inclined to submit patiently to *inevitable ills*, which a vain resistance to the authority of the dominant country cannot fail to aggravate.”†

Mr. Lewis here admits that there *are* serious “inconveniences” or “ills” in the lot of colonists, and that these are the “necessary consequences of their form of government,” or, in other words, of the attempt on the part of the mother country to conjoin *empire* with *colonization*. But whether the ills are “inevitable” is a mere matter of opinion, on which certain colonists will probably take the liberty to differ from Mr. Lewis in

\* *Essay on the Government of Dependencies.* By George Cornwall Lewis, Esq., M.P. London, 1841, pp. 253, 268, 293.

† Lewis, *Preface*.

due time. In the meantime they are extremely obliged to him for his honest opinion as to the utter incompatibility of *empire* with the other and legitimate objects of colonization.

“The best customer which a nation can have,” observes the same able and honest writer, in further illustration of his views, “is a thriving and industrious community, whether it be dependent or independent. The trade between England and the United States is probably far more profitable to the mother country than it would have been if they had remained in a state of dependence upon her.”\*

And again :—

“If a state of dependence checks the progress of a community in wealth and prosperity, the consequent limitation of its demand for imported commodities will more than compensate the advantages which the dominant country can derive from being able to regulate its commercial relations with the dependency.”†

But Mr. Lewis is not singular in the views he thus entertains as to the unprofitableness of the mere *domination* which the mother-country exercises over her colonies. “What real reason,” asks Mr. Merivale, “is there for supposing that the inhabitants of any old and peopled colony, if severed from the mother-country, would augment their capital less rapidly, would produce a less rapidly increasing amount of goods to exchange for ours, would cultivate our commercial connection less assiduously than they do at present.”‡

\* Lewis, p. 225.

† Ibid. p. 231.

‡ *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies*. Delivered before the University of Oxford in 1839, 1840, and 1841. By Herman Merivale, A.M., Professor of Political Economy. London, 1842: vol. 1. p. 228.

But the most important testimony as to the incompatibility of the pursuit of empire with the attainment of the other and legitimate objects of colonization, is that of Professor Heeren, of Göttingen, one of the ablest historical and political writers of the age. Remarking on the universal pursuit of empire in colonization by the different colonizing powers of Europe, that writer observes :—

“Time and experience were required to ascertain the relations in which the colonies might be placed most advantageously for the mother-country. Without any consideration of their true value and proper use, the first and prevalent idea was in favour of *an absolute possession*, and total exclusion of strangers. The propagation of Christianity formed a convenient pretext, and none thought of inquiring either into the justice or the utility of their treatment. In truth, we know not how other views could have been acquired, and yet we must needs lament that *the European system of colonization* should so early have taken a direction as unalterable as it was *destructive to the interests both of the colonies and their mother states.*”\*

One of the principal disadvantages of dependencies is their distance from the seat of empire.

“It was an unfortunate circumstance for the British Government,” observes the intelligent historian of the United States of America, “during their colonial period, and a strong reason for dissolving its colonial dominion, that it was disabled by distance from adapting its measures to the actual and immediate posture of affairs in America. Months elapsed between the occurrence of events in the colonies, and the arrival of the relative directions from England : and every symptom

\* *Europe and its Colonies*, p. 24.

of the political exigence had frequently undergone a material change before the concerted prescription, good or bad, was applied.\*

To the same effect, the celebrated Edmund Burke well observes, "The last cause of this disobedient spirit in the colonies is hardly less powerful than the rest, as it is not merely moral, but laid deep in the natural constitution of things. *Three thousand miles of ocean lie between you and them.* No contrivance can prevent the effect of this distance in weakening government. Seas roll, and months pass, between the order and the execution; and the want of a speedy explanation of a single point is enough to defeat a whole system. ... In large bodies the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities."†

Now if even *three thousand miles of ocean* were sufficient to render the pursuit of empire incompatible with the attainment of the other and legitimate objects of colonization, in the case of the original British Colonies of America, how much more strongly must not the increase of that distance to five times this amount, to half the circumference of the globe, render empire and the pursuit of the other objects of colonization utterly incompatible? It is no answer to this argument to tell us that Steam has reduced distances so greatly within the last half century that no part of the world can now be considered remote; for Steam can never give a man residing in London so thorough a knowledge of the state of things, in so remote a colony as New South Wales, as to qualify him to legislate for it: and to pretend to such a qualification, notwithstanding, is vir-

\* Grahame's *History of the United States of America*, &c., vol iv. p. 369.

† Edmund Burke's *Speech on Conciliation with America*, Works, vol. iii. p. 56.

tually laying claim to Omniscience—one of the incommunicable attributes of God.

SECTION IV.—IS THE PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY A PROPER AND LEGITIMATE OBJECT OF COLONIZATION FOR ANY GOVERNMENT?

To this question I would give the unhesitating and direct answer—certainly not, as far as Government is concerned. Governments are instituted for the protection and furtherance of the temporal interests of their subjects: they have nothing to do with the concerns of eternity. A Government is neither a Christian church nor a missionary institution, and can therefore have no right to usurp the proper province of either. All that a Government has to do with the Christian religion is to let it alone—to give it free scope—and to protect its professors, of all denominations, in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges as citizens or subjects. As Professor Heeren well observes, “the propagation of Christianity formed a convenient pretext,” with European Powers generally, in seeking to gratify their lust of empire through colonization; but in no instance whatever was it ever more than a mere pretext.

But the case is totally different, as regards *individuals*, associating for the promotion of colonization; although, with such associations, the propagation of Christianity has often been a mere pretext also. The able historian of British Colonization in America informs us that letters patent were issued by King James I., in the year 1606, to Sir Thomas Yates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, and their associates, granting to them those territories in America lying on the sea coast between the 34th and 45th degrees of North latitude. The design of the patentees was declared to

be "to make habitation and plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of our people into that part of America commonly called Virginia;" and as the main recommendation of the design, it was announced that "so noble a work may, by the prudence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian religion to such people as yet lie in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages living in those parts to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government."\*

How the said "Sir Thomas Yates, Sir George Somers, and Richard Hakluyt, and their associates," acquitted themselves of the duties they had thus voluntarily undertaken "in propagating of Christian religion," and in bringing "the infidels and savages to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government," it is scarcely necessary to inquire. It was simply one of those "good intentions" with which, we are told in the Spanish proverb, "hell is paved." But history informs us of an association of families and individuals of a somewhat different description, which was formed in England for the purpose of colonization very shortly thereafter, and of which one of the main objects was the propagation of the Christian religion on the continent of America. In a Prospectus which was issued by the projectors of the original Puritan emigration to New England in the year 1620, entitled "General Considerations for the Plantation of New England," the design was recommended to all Christian people on the grounds,—

"That it will be a service unto the Church of great

\* Grahame's *History of the United States of North America*, &c., vol i. p. 34. London, 1836.

consequence, to carry the Gospel into those parts of the world, and raise a bulwark against the kingdom of Antichrist, which the Jesuits labour to rear up in all parts of the world." "For what," they add, "can be a better or more noble work, and more worthy of a Christian, than to erect and support a reformed particular Church in its infancy, and unite our forces with such a company of faithful people, as by timely assistance may grow stronger and prosper; but for want of it, may be put to great hazard, if not be wholly ruined?"\*

Now there has certainly never been any object placed before the Christian world, since the days of the Apostles, of more transcendent importance to the interests of the Christian religion, as well as of mankind generally, than the one declared in this Prospectus; and there has never been any object more remarkably realized. The famous Crusades and their results sink into perfect insignificance when compared with the magnificent results of this comparatively humble project of Christian colonization.

The Puritan emigration consisted altogether of about twenty thousand persons, and extended over a period of about twenty years, viz., from the year 1620 to the year 1640. These people emigrated, therefore, *professedly*, to raise a bulwark against the progress and prevalence of Romanism in North America; and what has been the result of their emigration in this particular? Why, in the year 1840, when I visited the United States, the original Puritan emigrants had increased and multiplied, in the six New England States, to a nation, perhaps the most thoroughly Protestant in the world, of 2,229,879 souls. But this was a mere

\* Cotton Mather.

nothing, in comparison with what they had effected for the Protestantism of the country generally, in the way of colonization ; for as their country is but of limited extent, and naturally poor, they had been obliged to emigrate from time to time, and had thus been the great emigrating and colonizing people of America ever since the War of Independence ; spreading themselves over the Middle and Western States, but especially the latter, in numbers, compared with which the largest emigration from any European country has been quite insignificant. For even at the commencement of the present century, when the whole emigration from Europe to the United States was a mere trifle in amount, the emigration to the Western States from New England alone, notwithstanding the comparatively small population which it must have had at that period, amounted to three hundred thousand persons in one year ! And these emigrants—these Protestant missionaries—have everywhere carried out with them, to their remotest settlement in the Far West, the grand idea of the original Puritan emigration ; constituting themselves, in accordance with that great idea, the “bulwark against the kingdom of Antichrist” wherever they go.

Certain second-rate writers on America, who have views of their own to establish as to the importance of a religious establishment for any country, and who look only at the Romish emigration from Ireland and the Continent of Europe to the United States, are fond of predicting that that country, and in particular the valley of the Mississippi, will speedily become a Roman Catholic country. But the whole European emigration to the United States is even yet quite insignificant, compared with the internal and thoroughly Protestant emigration from the Eastern to the Western States.



In the year 1840, the population of the United States amounted to 17,100,572; and during the previous year Dr. Kenrick, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Philadelphia, who was not likely to under-estimate his own communion, estimated its numbers at somewhat less than a million—*millionem fere pertingimus*. Of that number I ascertained that one half were located in the Eastern States, and the other half in the valley of the Mississippi; but as the population of that valley was then five millions, the proportion of Roman Catholics could not be more than one in ten. Happening to meet at Philadelphia, in the year 1840, with an intelligent clergyman from the State of Missouri, of which the capital, St. Louis, had once been a French settlement, I asked him what was the estimated proportion of Roman Catholics in that State, and was told *one in ten*. This then was the general proportion in the valley of the Mississippi at that period; and I do not think it is likely to have altered much since.

It is evident, therefore, that Christian colonization is, beyond all comparison, the best means of Christianizing the world; and the subject is surely well worthy of the serious consideration of all Christian communions in the United Kingdom. In advocating and establishing missions to the heathen, they are doubtless doing well; but in neglecting this most effectual means of Christianizing the world, they are committing a species of suicide—they are betraying the citadel of their strength into the hands of the enemy.\* Had the colo-

\* The first Article in the Charter of the French Company, formed under Cardinal Richelieu, for the colonization of the West Indies and America, in the year 1635, bound the Company *D'y faire passer quatre mille François Catholiques, pendant l'espace de vingt années* "To convey to these regions 4000 French Catholics during the first twenty years."—*Droit Public, ou Gouvernement des Colonies Françaises*. Paris, 1771.

nizing power of Great Britain been only turned to account, as it might have been, and as it ought to have been, for the welfare of the nation, since the Protestant Reformation, what a vast extent of the earth's surface might not now have been covered with Protestant Christianity!

Even the ancient Heathen considered the extension of their own peculiar form of idolatry a worthy object of colonization, and one for which hardships might well be endured. Virgil speaks of his hero in the following language:—

“————— Multum ille et terris jactatus et alto,  
 Multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem,  
 Inferretque Deos Latio.”—*Æneid.*

Vast were the toils he proved, by sea and land,  
 And in th' embattled field, to found a State,  
 And plant in Italy the gods of Troy.

And he represents him elsewhere as saying of Italy—

“Sacra Deosque dabo.”

Temples and rites and gods I'll give the land.

And again:—

“Sum pius Æneas, raptos qui ex hoste Penates,  
 Classe veho mecum, fama super æthera notus.  
 Italiam quæro patriam.”—*Æneid.*

Once more:—

“Litora quum patriæ lacrimans portusque relinquo  
 Et campos, ubi Troja fuit. Feror exul in altum  
 Cum sociis, natoque, Penatibus et magnis Dis.”

Heathen as he was, Virgil had a much higher idea of the proper objects of colonization than the British people have hitherto had. Who is there that ever thinks of it with us, as a means of extending the Christian religion?

SECTION V.—DISTINCTION BETWEEN COLONIZATION, PROPERLY SO CALLED, AND THE MODES OF SETTLEMENT IN OTHER DEPENDENCIES; WITH THE NATURAL AND NECESSARY RESULTS OF THAT DISTINCTION.

The families and individuals of the British nation, who go to any of the long list of British possessions, plantations, or dependencies which I have enumerated above, but which are not British colonies properly so called, uniformly go thither for a temporary *sedes* or settlement only, to remain there, either longer or shorter, for the accomplishment of their particular object, and then *to return* to their native land. They never think of making the place of their temporary and perhaps reluctant sojourning their *country*; they never regard it as their *home*. There is no transference of affection from Britain to the dependency; and this is the uniform burden of their song, *Dulce, dulce domum!* "There is no place like home!"—meaning England, Scotland, or Ireland. There are individual exceptions, doubtless; but this is the general rule. There are occasional incursions also of really British colonists into the territory of what was once a French or Dutch colony, as in Lower Canada and the Cape of Good Hope; but these are rare cases, and the line of demarcation between the colonists of the old and those of the new *regime* is as strongly marked as if it had been staked off with a line of palisades\*.

\* "To proceed to a new country in a number sufficiently large to form a nation or community within itself, greatly relieves and moderates the evils of emigration; but to abandon our country for another, where the people have nothing in common with us but the bond of the same humanity, is to renounce our nationality and our race—two things which are not given to man that he may cast them off whenever it pleases his fantasy."—Count Strzelecki's *Physical Description of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, &c.*, p. 381.

But the really British colonist goes to a really British colony with far different feelings and views and objects. He may feel as strongly attached to his native country as the other adventurer, and as loth to leave it; and the better man he is, he will only cherish these generous and manly feelings the more strongly. He may say, with all the deep-toned emotion of the poet—

“Nos patrios fines, et *dulcia* linquimus arva;  
Nos patriam fugimus !”\*

We leave, alas ! our much-loved Father-land,  
To seek a home on some far distant strand.

but Divine Providence has said to him, as plainly as God said to Abraham, *Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee* ;† and he has made up his mind to the issue. In such circumstances, it is not merely *sedes*—a temporary settlement—which he seeks, but a home and a country, *sedes patriamque*. And as he builds his house in the wilderness, and clears and cultivates the virgin soil; or as his sheep and cattle graze peacefully around him, while his children grow up, perhaps with only the faintest recollections of their native land, the colonist feels that a new object is gradually filling up the *vacuum* in his soul; and without being conscious of any estrangement from the land of his birth, he finds that his affections are gradually and insensibly transferred to the land of his adoption. In short, the colonist is like a tree transplanted from its native soil—it is some time before the shock of transplantation, the tearing up of the tender roots, can be got over; but, by and bye, these wounds are healed; the tree gets used to the soil; it strikes out fresh roots

\* Virgil, Ecl. i.

† Genesis, xii. 1.

in every direction, and it probably reaches a far loftier height, exhibits a far more luxuriant growth, and spreads around it a far deeper "continuity of shade," than it would ever have done in its native soil.

In one word, whether the colonist has had great difficulties to overcome in effecting his settlement in the colonial wilderness, or has experienced a speedy and unexpectedly abundant return for his labours, a strong attachment to his adopted country arises insensibly in his mind; and, as time wears on, and the new interests with which he has become identified are multiplied and strengthened, this feeling gradually ripens into a spirit of what may perhaps be designated *colonial nationality*. His native land gradually fades from his view, and his interest in its peculiar objects becomes fainter and fainter. The particular colony, or group of colonies, to which he belongs, engrosses all his affections, and the idea of the welfare and advancement of his adopted country, like a new passion, takes possession of his soul.

The spirit of colonial nationality, which necessarily arises in the circumstances I have described, is no accidental feeling; it is unquestionably of Divine implantation, and designed, not for evil, but for good. The institution of a family is confessedly a Divine institution, fraught with benefits of inestimable value to mankind; and all the attempts of Robert Owenism, Fourierism, Communism, and Socialism, to set it aside and substitute something better for it, are therefore vain and futile. So also is the institution of a *nation*, or group of many families of kindred origin inhabiting the same country, and separated from the rest of mankind by lofty mountains or vast tracts of ocean. Such a group of families will infallibly have feelings, and interests, and objects, centred in their own country or

territory, and differing, in that particular, from those of every other portion of the human race.\* In one word, a British colony, properly so called, and especially a group of such colonies, will infallibly become a nation, provided there is ample room and verge enough for its due development. "Colonies," says the celebrated William Penn, "are the seeds of nations, begun and nourished by the care of wise and populous countries, conceiving them best for the increase of human stock, and beneficial for commerce."†

\* The grouping of mankind into nations is as evidently a divine ordinance, designed for the welfare and advancement of the human race, as the grouping of mankind into families; and the attempt to abrogate the divinely appointed distinction into nations, with a view to the working out of some heartless and perhaps impracticable political theory of centralization, is precisely of the same character as the notorious attempt of Robert Owen and others, to abrogate the Divine distinction into families. Divine Providence has of late been evidently taking into its own hands the work of vindicating this divine ordinance against the folly, the heartlessness, the injustice, and the cruel oppression of the whole committee of Royal Incapables, who have been merely serving their own contemptible ends and misgoverning Europe these thirty years. The reconstruction of "oppressed nationalities" is the miracle of the age; and no amount of physical force that despotism can conjure up for the purpose, will prevent that miracle from being repeated again and again, till Lombardy, Sicily and Venice, till Hungary and Poland are re-erected into sovereign and independent states. — *Repeal or Revolution; or, a Glimpse of the Irish Future.* By the Author of this Work. London,

† Speaking of "natural colonies," Heeren observes that "The colonists, and proprietors, are on, pro- System of 46.

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territory, and differing, in that particular, from those of every other portion of the human race.\* In one word, a British colony, properly so called, and especially a group of such colonies, will infallibly become a nation, provided there is ample room and verge enough for its due development. "Colonies," says the celebrated William Penn, "are *the seeds of nations*, begun and nourished by the care of wise and populous countries, conceiving them best for the increase of human stock, and beneficial for commerce."†

\* The grouping of mankind into nations is as evidently a divine ordinance, designed for the welfare and advancement of the human race, as the grouping of mankind into families; and the attempt to abrogate the divinely appointed distinction into nations, with a view to the working out of some heartless and perhaps impracticable political theory of centralization, is precisely of the same character as the notorious attempt of Robert Owen and others, to abrogate the Divine distinction into families. Divine Providence has of late been evidently taking into its own hands the work of vindicating this divine ordinance against the folly, the heartlessness, the injustice, and the cruel oppression of the whole committee of Royal Incapables, who have been merely serving their own contemptible ends and misgoverning Europe these thirty years. The reconstruction of "oppressed nationalities" is the miracle of the age; and no amount of physical force that despotism can conjure up for the purpose, will prevent that miracle from being repeated again and again, till Lombardy, Sicily and Venice, till Hungary and Poland are re-erected into sovereign and independent states. —*Repeal or Revolution; or, a Glimpse of the Irish Future*. By the Author of this Work. London, 1848.

† Speaking of "agricultural colonies, whose object is the cultivation of the soil," Professor Heeren, of Göttingen, observes that "The colonists, who form them, become landed proprietors, are formally naturalized, and in process of time become a nation, properly so called."—*Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies*. By A. H. L. Heeren, Professor of History in the University of Göttingen, p. 24. London, 1846.



## SECTION VI.—ANALOGY BETWEEN A COLONY AND A CHILD, AND INFERENCES FROM THAT ANALOGY.

As every human being who attains maturity of age must pass through the three successive states of infancy, of youth, and of manhood, so must every colony; and as the infant must be nourished and cherished, and the youth guided and governed by his parents, so must the colony. But there is a time when the youth is no longer to be *under tutors and governors*. He attains his majority at a certain period fixed by law, and he is thenceforth his own master; being expected, of course, to support himself, as well as to guide and govern himself, thenceforward. Now I maintain that there is, in like manner, a time for every colony, and especially for every group of colonies, to attain their majority, so to speak, and to guide and govern themselves thenceforward.

This was the uniform doctrine of the ancients on the subject of colonization. "The ancients," says an able French writer, during the protracted struggle between Great Britain and her American colonies, "The ancients usually compared the duties of colonies towards their mother country, to those of children towards their parents. In the order of nature, the members of a family, scattered abroad, and each forming a new establishment for himself, are all in a state of independence, and are no longer bound to their common parent by any other tie than that of respect and gratitude. Now if these sentiments are essentially free in their nature, as is indisputable, they can never constitute bonds of servitude. Agreeably to this principle, the ancients were of opinion that the absolute power pleaded for by mother countries was founded neither in natural law nor in truth and justice."

“Grotius, faithful to this maxim, maintains very properly that *a colony is a new people that grows up in independence*: NOVUS POPULUS SUI JURIS NASCITUR.”

“The legislative power of the mother country, being unable to repress, either with sufficient celerity or with the requisite effect, the abuses of the executive power in her colonies, on account of their remoteness, an equality of condition cannot subsist between the citizens of the mother country and those of the colonies. It becomes, therefore, just and necessary that the latter should have a suitable compensation for the disadvantages of their situation, and for the re-establishment of the equilibrium. Their liberty, therefore, ought to be augmented in proportion to the distance of the countries they inhabit, and the difficulties that stand in the way of their frequent communication with those among whom the legislative body resides.”\*

\* “Les anciens comparoient ordinairement les devoirs des colonies envers leur mère patrie, à ceux des enfans envers leurs pères. Dans l'ordre de la nature, les membres d'une famille, dispersés et formant chacun de nouveaux établissemens, sont tous dans l'indépendance, et ne restent plus liés à leur père commun que par le respect et la reconnaissance. Or, si ces sentimens sont essentiellement libres, ce qui est incontestable, ils ne peuvent donc jamais être des engagemens de servitude. D'après ce principe, l'antiquité pensoit que le pouvoir absolu des métropoles n'étoit par sa nature ni légal, ni vrai, ni juste.

“Grotius, fidèle à cette maxime, prétend avec raison qu'une colonie est un nouveau peuple qui naît dans l'indépendance. *Novus populus sui juris nascitur.*

“La puissance législative de la mère patrie, ne pouvant réprimer assez tôt et toujours efficacement les abus de la puissance exécutive dans ses colonies, à cause de leur éloignement, l'égalité de sort ne sauroit pas subsister entre les citoyens des métropoles et ceux des colonies. Il devient, alors, juste et nécessaire que ces derniers ayent des prérogatives, que les dédommagent de leur situation et rétablissent l'équilibre. Leur liberté doit, donc, augmenter à proportion de la distance des pays qu'ils habitent, et des

And again :—

“Under the yoke of authority, a young colony makes much more rapid progress than if it enjoyed complete independence. The enjoyment of liberty is suitable only for a well established community, and not for one whose members are reduced to a feeble and precarious condition. But that very authority ought necessarily to diminish in proportion as the number of the colonists increases, or be abrogated when their wants cease. Everything, then, re-enters into the imperturbable order of nature ; political ties are formed by new conventions, and the rights of government are established on a new basis.”\*

Cocceius, a Dutch commentator, commenting upon the famous saying of Grotius, quoted above, viz., that, in the case of a colony, “a new and independent nation is born,” observes, somewhat strangely and in downright contradiction of his author, as follows :—“*Colonia est nudum instrumentum populi mittentis, et migrat non ut cives esse desinant, sed ut alibi habitent; indeque manent sub potestate et imperio mittentium.*”†

difficultés qui s'opposent à leur fréquente communication avec ceux chez qui réside le corps législatif.”—*De l'Etat et du Sort des Colonies des Anciens Peuples.* Paris, 1777 ; Philadelphie, 1779, p. 127.

\* “ Sous le joug de l'autorité, une colonie naissante fait des progrès beaucoup plus rapides que si elle jouissoit d'une entière indépendance. L'usage de la liberté ne convient qu' à une société bien établie, et non point à celle dont les membres sont réduits à un état faible et précaire. Mais cette même autorité doit nécessairement diminuer à mesure que le nombre des colons augmente, ou être abrogée quand leurs besoins cessent. Tout rentre alors dans l'ordre imperturbable de la nature ; les liens de politique se forment par de nouvelles conventions, et les droits de gouvernement s'établissent sur des nouveaux fondemens.”—*De l'Etat et du Sort des Colonies des Anciens Peuples,* Philadelphie, 1779, p. 216.

† Henrici Cocceii *Comment.* t. ii. p. 547.

“ A colony is the mere instrument of the colonizing or mother country : its inhabitants, in emigrating, merely change their place of abode, but not their citizenship ; and, therefore, they continue under the power and government of the mother country.”

Cocceius was the courtly advocate of their High Mightinesses the States of Holland, whose government of their colonies was in the highest degree unjust and oppressive. His definition of a colony, which is exactly that of Downing-street, was evidently “ made to order,” and it simply denies all rights to colonies.

Singularly enough, there is a perfect parallel to this impudent Dutch definition of a colony in the Westminster Review for October, 1852, in an article entitled “ Our Colonial Empire,” but which ought properly to have been entitled “ Milk-pap for Bearded Men !” The *Radical* Reviewer, forsooth ! would allow of a “ Colonial Representative Body,” as he calls it, to consist of Delegates from all the Colonies, to meet in London, but “ to be restricted in its functions to discussion and advice !” He takes for granted “ the necessity of preserving unity in the central authority,” and admits “ the difficulty of separating in all cases between Imperial and Colonial subjects ;” but he would make all odds even by “ limiting the power of the Colonial House to the free public discussion of all subjects, and the recording of its views ! ! !”

I should consider myself degraded by replying to such drivelling impertinence. Let the Reviewer know that the men of progress in the colonies hold, with that great authority, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, whose opinion on such subjects is worth that of a hundred Westminster Reviewers, that such a *constitutional line*, as he supposes, between Imperial and Colonial interests, *doth not exist* ; and that, as a legitimate corollary from

the principles and arguments of this work, they will go one step further, with the said Benjamin, and simply deny the right of the Imperial Parliament to legislate for them in any case whatsoever.

To return to the parallel between the condition of a colony and that of a child, the period fixed by the law of the land for a young man's reaching his majority is the completion of the twenty-first year of his age; for if an unreasonable or tyrannical parent should refuse to give his son his entire freedom, or to allow him to manage his own affairs, after he has attained that age, the law will at once interfere, on the appeal of the son, and set him free. It will not be received as a valid argument, on the part of the father, to allege that he does not consider his son capable of self-government; for the law can take no cognizance of any such allegation. It simply ascertains the fact that the son has reached the age at which he is legally entitled to entire freedom from all further parental control, and at which therefore the *patria potestas* ceases and determines; and it decides accordingly.

But as there is no positive law, either human or divine, to fix the time when a colony, or group of colonies, shall be held to have attained their majority, and to be permitted to manage their own affairs, and to guide and govern themselves, it may be alleged, with some shadow of reason, that the analogy fails at this point. Does it do so, however? By no means. For the reason assigned for the decision which the law pronounces, in setting the son who has attained his majority entirely free from the control of his unreasonable and tyrannical parent, is that he is both able and willing to manage his own affairs, and to guide and govern, as well as to maintain, himself. Now, as this reason is equally applicable to both cases, I maintain, without fear of contradiction,

that a colony, or group of colonies, attains its political majority, and is thenceforth entitled to entire freedom and independence, whenever it is both able and willing to manage its own affairs, and to guide and govern itself, without either assistance or protection from the parent state. This is the law of nature, or, in other words, the ordinance of God; and the parent state, which in such circumstances refuses to grant entire freedom and independence to any colony or group of colonies, is resisting the divine ordinance, and is acting unreasonably and tyrannically. The authority it assumes is usurpation, and the exercise of that authority is downright tyranny.

There is certainly no law requiring a young man to claim entire freedom from all parental control when he attains his majority; and if he chooses to remain in his father's house, and assist him in his business, that is his own affair, and is supposed to be a matter of private arrangement between his father and himself, with which no law can interfere. But it is natural for a young man in such circumstances, especially if he has learned a business by which he can maintain a family, and sees a favourable prospect of establishing himself successfully in the world, and has fixed his affections on some virtuous female of his own class in society, with whom he can be united in matrimony when he is his own master—it is natural for a young man in such circumstances not only to desire his entire freedom and independence, but to assert that freedom and independence, and to act accordingly. By the law of nature, or, in other words, by the ordinance of God, as well as by the laws of the land, the young man is constituted the sole judge as to whether he shall assume and exercise his entire freedom and independence or not.

In like manner it is not only in accordance with the

law of nature and the ordinance of God that a colony, or group of colonies, which has attained its political majority, and is both able and willing to undertake the entire management of its own affairs, without either assistance or protection from the parent state, should *desire* its entire freedom and independence with intense earnestness; it is the law of nature and the ordinance of God that it should *have* that freedom and independence. "The desire of independence," observes Professor Heeren, "is natural to agricultural colonies; because a new nation gradually becomes formed within them."\* To the same effect, the celebrated Grotius, cited again in the following paragraph by Mr. Ex-Governor Pownall, describes the natural growth of a colony into a new nation:—

"Our colonies and provinces, being each a body politic, and having a right to, and enjoying in fact, a certain legislature, indented rather with the case of the Grecian colonies, as stated by Grotius: *Huc referenda et discessio quæ ex consensu fit in colonias, nam sic quoque novus populus sui juris nascitur.*" [To this category is also to be referred the case of the voluntary emigration of people to colonies; for *in this way* too A NEW AND INDEPENDENT NATION IS BORN.]†

\* Heeren's *Hist. of the Polit. Syst. of Europe and its Colonies*, p. 272.

† *Administration of the Colonies*, by Thomas Pownall, formerly Governor of Massachusetts, p. 55. London, 1768.—Pownall was a well-meaning man who did his best, as a Member of Parliament in England, to reconcile both parties, during the American troubles; but of course without effect. He advocated, what he called, in his own clumsy style, "A grand marine dominion, consisting of our possessions in the Atlantic, and in America, united into one empire, in a one centre, where the seat of Government is." The thing was impracticable: it was contrary to the laws of nature and the ordinance of God, as stated by Grotius in the very passage he cites.

The parent state therefore is not the judge whether the particular colony or group of colonies, claiming its freedom and independence, is fit for, or ought to be entrusted with such a possession. This is a matter for the colony, or group of colonies, to determine for itself. The parent state has as little to say in it as the individual parent in the case of his son.

Nay, it is evident and indisputable that it was on this principle of freedom and independence, as far at least as their own internal government was concerned, that the British colonies in America were originally formed; for considering the important national interests at stake in the matter, it is not less humiliating than it is melancholy to reflect, that, in the theory and practice of colonization, we have actually been retrograding or going back as a people for the last two hundred and fifty years! "The fundamental idea," observes Mr. Merivale, "of the old or British colonial policy appears to have been, that wherever a man went, he carried with him the rights of an Englishman, whatever these were supposed to be. \* \* This is remarkably proved by the fact, that representative government was seldom expressly granted in the early charters; it was assumed by the colonists as a matter of right."\*

And again:—

"It is curious to observe how notions, which were really as old as the constitution, and had been practically followed out for ages in our colonial administration, became dreaded and stigmatized as dangerous novelties, when they were advanced in the broad form of theories by French and American reformers. The great modern change in political speculation, which has brought us in some respects far on the road towards democracy, has in

\* Merivale's Lectures, I. 101.



others led by an obvious course to less liberal sentiments than formerly prevailed.”\*

And again :—

“ We rather shrink from the idea of saddling the first laborious settlers in the wilderness with the duties of self-government. Yet it is worth while to pause, and consider in how different a light our ancestors regarded this matter. They never dreamt that the colonist was not fully fitted to enjoy at first whatever measure of liberty was to be ultimately his portion. The people of Massachusetts Bay made their own constitution almost as soon as they arrived there; it was ratified at home, its provisions were transferred not many years afterwards to a royal charter, and continued to exist during the whole period of its dependence. When the enthusiast Roger Williams settled Rhode Island, he framed in the very next year a republican polity for his dozen or two of families. It was confirmed by charter in 1662, and continues at this very day to be the constituent law of that flourishing little commonwealth. According to our present ideas Rhode Island would not have been “entitled” to a constitution until a century and a half after its first settlement.”

And again :—

“ The question remains substantially the same—whether 500 men of ordinary British habits and notions, and not too much scattered over the soil, cannot administer themselves municipally as well as 50,000; whether the size of a community—supposing it protected from external violence—has anything to do with its capacity for self-government.”†

\* Merivale I. 103.

† Ibid. II. 289.

SECTION VII.—THE QUESTION, AS TO WHAT IS IMPLIED IN THE TERRITORIAL RIGHTS OF A MOTHER COUNTRY, DISCUSSED AND SETTLED.

It is a common, but an unfounded idea, that the word colony has a territorial meaning, and signifies the tract of country inhabited, or to be inhabited, by any body of colonists, as well as the people who form the colony. It has no such meaning, however. It signifies the people exclusively; as, for instance, when we speak of the colony of Van Diemen's Land, we mean simply the body of people inhabiting the island of that name.\* Unimportant, however, as it may appear, this mistake, as to the meaning of the word colony, has been rather a serious matter to colonists generally; for by taking it for granted that a particular nation has rights, arising either from discovery or conquest, over a particular unoccupied territory, or colony, in the territorial sense

\* The ancients uniformly understood the word colony to signify a regularly organized body of people who had either gone or were going forth from the mother country to form a settlement in some remote, transmarine or conquered territory. Thus, the historian Tacitus, when reprobating the change of system in the matter of colonization which had taken place in his own time—that of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire—as compared with the practice in the better days of Rome, observes, “Non, ut olim, universae legiones deducebantur cum tribunis, et centurionibus, et sui cujusque ordinis militibus, ut consensu et caritate rempublicam afficerent; sed ignoti inter se, diversis manipulis, sine rectore, sine affectibus mutuis, quasi ex alio genere mortalium, repente in unum collati, *numerus magis quam colonia.*” Tacit. Annal. Lib. 14. Sect. 27. “The ancient practice of colonization—under which entire legions were usually led forth as colonies, with their colonels, captains and privates, each in his own company, that they might organize a colonial community harmoniously and with mutual affection—this ancient practice was no longer followed; but bands of soldiers, totally unknown to each other, and of different legions,

of the word, it has been inferred, without the least shadow of reason, that it has also a right to govern the people who may settle within that territory for all time coming. Now we colonists admit the national right, whether of discovery or of conquest, as a right against any other colonizing nation; but we repudiate the inference of its implying a right to govern the future occupants of the territory, as being altogether unfounded in reason and justice.\* For example, we admit the right of Great Britain to the exclusive colonization of the whole east coast of Australia, that coast having been discovered in the interest and on behalf of the British nation by our illustrious fellow countryman, Captain Cook; and we would therefore do our best, as Britons, to prevent any other European nation from

without any common head, without mutual affection, as if they were each of a different race of men, were suddenly collected together, *forming rather a mob than a colony.*" By the way this is very much like Government emigration in our own time.

Dr. Johnson doubtless assigns to the word colony the secondary meaning of "The country planted; a plantation;" but it is at least questionable whether the quotation he adduces in proof of this meaning bears it out.

The rising city, which from far you see,

Is Carthage; and a Tyrian colony.—*Dryden's Virgil.*

Does this mean a tract of country distinct from its inhabitants? I think not. The word *city* unquestionably suggests people, town's-people, and not territory. But even Homer nods occasionally, and so does Dr. Johnson.

\* Geography is of no party; Rome and Carthage had no frontiers; Genoa and Venice had no territories. *It is not the soil which determines the constitutions of people.* \* \* \* Waves and mountains are the frontiers of the weak—men are the frontiers of a people.—*Lamartine: History of the Girondists*, vol. i. p. 264, Bohn's edition.

forming settlements on that coast.\* But we maintain, as Australian colonists, that this right of discovery, as well as of exclusive colonization in favour of Great Britain which it implies, implies no right whatever, on the part of the British people, to exercise domination over the British colonists who may settle from time to time on that coast. The two propositions are totally distinct; although it is the interest of certain parties to confound them, and thereby to throw dust in the eyes of the public for the attainment of their own selfish ends. But to use the language of the eminent writer, (now one of the Under Secretaries of State in the Colonial Office) whom I have already quoted repeatedly: "It is impossible to place in too strong a light the errors which

\* A very important question suggests itself in reference to this right of discovery, as implying an exclusive right of colonization, viz. :—How long is it to be supposed to hold good? And the common sense of mankind has rightly decided in the case, that if the right is not exercised within a reasonable period, it lapses and holds good no longer. Captain Cook, for example, discovered the Island of New Caledonia in the year 1770, the year of his discovery of the east coast of Australia, and consequently the exclusive right of colonizing New Caledonia was vested in Great Britain for a certain period; but as Imperial ignorance and incapacity, conjoined with the most culpable neglect of our interests as British colonists, had allowed the important right to lapse, by doing nothing to confirm it for the long period of eighty years, the Emperor Louis Napoleon has, in perfect justice and with great adroitness, stepped into our shoes and taken possession of the island for the purposes of a French colony, thereby availing himself of the wonderful facilities for colonization in that particular locality which the previous colonization of Australia by Great Britain undoubtedly affords him. In like manner, the Dutch were the original discoverers not only of the continent of Australia, but of the islands of Van Dieman's Land and New Zealand; but as they did nothing for more than a century afterwards to confirm the right of exclusive colonization which was thus undoubtedly vested in them, we stepped into their shoes and took possession in all the three cases.

our national jealousy and contracted views have imported into our popular theories of colonization."\*

We have only to glance at the origin of colonization, to be convinced of the utter baselessness of the alleged right of domination on the part of a mother country, which is gratuitously supposed to result from the acknowledged right of discovery or conquest. Colonization therefore must have been coeval with the first settlements of mankind; originating as it did in the ordinance of God, the laws of nature and the necessities of men. For God made the earth to be inhabited†—not to lie waste, as so much of it has done hitherto, through the folly and perversity of man—and his first command to the human race, even in the Garden of Eden, was *Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth*. Now colonization, with all that leads to it, whether in the laws of nature or the necessities of men, is merely the carrying out of this divine ordinance. For as soon as the first settlement of mankind had become too confined for the sustenance and comfort of its inhabitants, or, in other words, as soon as the pastures of the neighbourhood had proved too limited for their flocks and herds, or the available arable land not sufficiently extensive for the wants of the community, a portion of their number would necessarily be obliged to separate from the rest, and to form another settlement for themselves at some distance. Besides, the experience of all mankind teaches us that dissensions and quarrels would infallibly arise even in the most limited communities,

\* Merivale's Lectures on Colonization and Colonies, vol. 1. page 244.

† Thus saith the Lord that created the heavens; God himself that formed the earth and made it; he hath established it, HE CREATED IT NOT IN VAIN, HE FORMED IT TO BE INHABITED. Isaiah xlv. 18.

and that injustice and oppression would very soon be practised (as sacred history informs us was the case to a frightful extent in the very first settlement of mankind,) by the strong and powerful towards the weak and helpless; leaving the latter no other alternative than that of flight or emigration. But, independently of the motives to emigration, that would necessarily originate in such circumstances, the mere desire of change, the restless spirit of adventure and the hope of bettering their fortunes would induce many others to emigrate from the earlier settlements of mankind for the purpose of forming distinct settlements or colonies at a distance. In short, the redundancy of population, the spirit of adventure and the evil passions of men would all concur, from the very earliest period in the history of mankind, in fulfilling the divine ordinance for the peopling of the earth.

In such circumstances the important question arises, "Would the remaining inhabitants of the original settlement of mankind, from which the supposed emigration has emanated, have any right to controul the future movements or procedure of their offshoot or colony, or, in other words, to govern it?" And to this question I would unhesitatingly answer, "None whatever." For men, being all born free and equal, every man—especially in a state of nature, and antecedently to the formation of regular states and governments,—has a natural, inherent and absolute right to consult his own interest, whether real or imaginary, in all such matters, and to follow his own inclinations, by settling wherever he pleases, in any unoccupied portion of the habitable globe; and the community he has left can thenceforth have no right whatever either to controul or to govern him.

"It is pretended, indeed," observes a celebrated

writer and strenuous advocate of the rights of men, "that the moment we quit a state of nature, as we have given up the controul of our actions in return for the superior advantages of law and government, we can never appeal again to any original principles, but must rest content with the advantages that are secured by the terms of the society."\* This, however, is only a pretence: the Divine command given to mankind to *multiply and replenish the earth* is absolute; and no body of men, no state or government, either has or can have a right to prevent its being obeyed or carried out. The rights of any body of British colonists, going forth to form a settlement within the particular colonial territory over which the British nation has an exclusive right of colonization, are precisely identical, as far as self-government is concerned, with those of the first body of colonists who emigrated from the first settlement of mankind. All that the British nation can rightly do in the case, as a mother-country, is to secure equal rights, equal privileges, and equal advantages for all British subjects emigrating to the colonial territory; leaving them to settle their civil government thereafter for and by themselves.

SECTION VIII.—THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES HAVE ATTAINED THEIR POLITICAL MAJORITY, AND ARE CONSEQUENTLY ENTITLED TO THEIR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE.

If, therefore, it is true and cannot be gainsaid, that the desire of freedom and independence is natural to all "agricultural colonies," that is, to all such communities as British colonies, properly so called; if this desire is the natural and necessary result of their peculiar cir-

\* Robert Hall.

circumstances and situation, from the fact that "a nation becomes formed within them;" if it is divinely implanted, moreover, and therefore designed for good and not for evil—for the welfare and advancement of the human family, and not for its injury or depression; and if such colonies are entitled to their entire freedom and independence whenever they have attained their political majority, or are both able and willing to manage their own affairs, without either assistance or protection from the parent state, I maintain that the Australian colonies, having attained their political majority, and being both able and willing to sustain and govern themselves, are fully entitled to their freedom and independence; and I maintain, moreover, that Great Britain, the parent state, being an interested party in the matter, has no more right to constitute herself a judge in the case, and to put forth an adverse decision, than the unreasonable and tyrannical parent who withholds his freedom from his own child after he has reached his majority.

The group of Australian colonies for which I would claim entire freedom and national independence, as a matter of right as well as of policy, are those in the south eastern section of the Australian continent, viz., the three great continental colonies of New South Wales, Port Phillip or Victoria, and South Australia, together with the insular colony of Van Dieman's Land. For as the eastern and western portions of the Great South Land are separated from each other by a great central desert, like those of Africa and Arabia, of at least a thousand miles in extent, it must be evident that the eastern and western divisions of that land must each be under a separate *régime*. Besides, the colony of Western Australia, or Swan River, has recently been transformed, with the consent of its own inhabitants, into a penal settlement, a condition which



all the eastern colonies strongly repudiate; and it is more than probable that the imperial government will form a series of such settlements along the west and north-west coasts. There is, therefore, as complete a separation of the eastern and western divisions of the continent as if a wide ocean had rolled between them.

The eastern colonies (including Van Dieman's Land,) are, according to their seniority, as follows, viz. :—

1. New South Wales, with a coast line of about five hundred miles on the Western Pacific Ocean, from Cape Howe, the south-eastern extremity of the land, to the thirtieth parallel of south latitude: comprising an area of three hundred thousand square miles, or an extent of country nearly equal to Great Britain and France together. A very large proportion of this territory is doubtless hopelessly sterile; but there is still a vast extent of its surface equal in quality to any land in the world, and its mineral resources, from gold to coal, are inexhaustible. From the height of its mountains, and the extent of its table land, it has a great variety of climate, and a corresponding range of productions. Its present population is about 230,000.

2. Van Dieman's Land, a beautiful island nearly equal in size to Ireland, and in a still milder climate. It possesses agricultural and other capabilities for the sustenance and employment of a dense population superior to those of most European countries of equal extent. Its present population is about 90,000.

3. South Australia, with a coast line of about five hundred miles along the Great Southern Ocean, and an area of three hundred thousand square miles. Only a comparatively small portion, however, of this vast extent of territory is at all fit for the purposes of man,\*

\* *Vide* Captain Sturt's *Discoveries in Central Australia*.

the rest of it being part of the great central desert of Australia; but the available portion is of superior quality for agriculture, and its copper mines are rich and extensive. Its present population is probably 100,000.

4. Victoria or Port Phillip, with a coast line of about five hundred miles along Bass' Straits and the Great Southern Ocean, from Cape Howe, the boundary of New South Wales on the one hand, to that of South Australia on the other. It extends, however, only a comparatively small distance inland, and its area is probably eighty-five thousand square miles, or about the size of Great Britain. A large portion of its surface consists of the finest land in one of the finest climates in the world, and its gold mines are of unequalled richness. Its present population is upwards of 200,000.

In addition to these four colonies actually established, there is an agitation in progress, under the warrant and encouragement of an Act of Parliament, for the establishment of a fifth colony, in the eastern section of the continent, by separating from New South Wales, and erecting into a distinct and independent province, the territory at present included in that colony, and extending northwards from the thirtieth parallel of latitude to the Tropic of Capricorn. And the remaining portion of the eastern section of the continent, extending from the southern Tropic to the northern extremity of the land, would form a sufficient extent of territory for other two additional colonies, which would form seven in all, viz. :—

5. Cooksland, or the Moreton Bay country, with a coast-line of about five hundred miles along the Western Pacific, from the thirtieth parallel of latitude to the Tropic of Capricorn. This province will have an area of three hundred thousand square miles, eight or ten rivers dis-

emboguing in the Pacific, and all available for steam navigation, and an extent of land of the first quality for all sorts of cultivation suited to the soil and climate, considerably greater than the whole extent of such land in Port Phillip and Van Dieman's Land put together. Its mineral resources, with the exception of coal, which is abundant and easily procurable, are as yet unknown. Its climate, although rather hot in summer, is one of the finest on the face of the earth. The present population of this future province is about 15,000. The inhabitants are at present petitioning for their separation from the older colony, which the Home Government is, in such an event, pledged by Act of Parliament to grant.

6. Leichartsland (in honour of Dr. Ludwig Leichhardt, the celebrated German traveller, who first traversed and made known to the world this valuable tract of country, and whose bones, it is greatly to be feared, are now blanching on the waste in the midst of the Great Central Desert of Australia). The coast line of this future province would extend about four hundred and fifty miles along the Western Pacific, from the Tropic of Capricorn to about  $17\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  south latitude, or the latitude of the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria. It is somewhat remarkable that, on this parallel of latitude, a tract of broken country forms the *divisio aquarum*, or water-shed, separating the south-eastern waters flowing into the Pacific Ocean from the north-western flowing into the Gulf. The province would stretch to the westward as far as the south-western angle of the Gulf, so as to afford the inhabitants a port on the Gulf, besides whatever ports it may have on the Pacific. The area of this province would be about three hundred thousand square miles; and from all that is known of it, it con-

tains a vast extent of the richest land for all the different branches of tropical cultivation.

7. Flindersland (in honour of the late Matthew Flinders, Esq., captain in the Royal Navy, whose maritime discoveries, and whose personal sufferings on the coasts of Australia and elsewhere are generally known). This province would consist of the entire peninsula of Cape York, which forms an isosceles triangle, with its base line to the south, and its opposite sides fronting, respectively, the Western Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of Carpentaria. It would thus have a coast-line of from eight to nine hundred miles, while its area would be equal to that of the island of Great Britain or the province of Port Phillip. There is little known of it as yet, with the exception of the highly favourable report of Dr. Leichhardt, in regard to the country abutting upon the head of the Gulf; Mr. Kennedy, a Surveyor on the establishment of New South Wales, who had been sent out with an exploring party to follow up Dr. Leichhardt's discoveries on the peninsula, having been unfortunately murdered by the black natives.

These Seven Provinces, into which the eastern half of the great Australian continent, including the island of Van Dieman's Land, will in all probability be divided, and which will all now be rapidly settled with an Anglo-Saxon population, capable of forming any such political combinations, will doubtless eventually form a great Federal Republic, under the style and title of THE SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES OF AUSTRALIA. This is unquestionably the Australian future, the evident and inevitable destiny of this *Great South Land*; and it is doubtless wise and politic, even in our present circumstances, to anticipate such a consummation, that we may be fully prepared for the emergency when it arises. Without reference, however, to this Austra-

lian future, I would confine any agitation for the present, for the Freedom and Independence of Australia, to the three continental provinces of New South Wales, Victoria or Port Phillip, and South Australia, with the insular colony of Van Dieman's Land.

The three continental provinces are all contiguous to each other, having common boundary lines for many hundreds of miles. They are all intimately connected by means of Steam navigation along the coast; and the Murray River, which has recently been ascertained to be navigable for upwards of fourteen hundred miles of its long course from the Australian Alps to the Great Southern Ocean, binds them together, still more strongly, in the interior. With such bonds of union these three colonies will all eventually form one great community, having common interests and common objects, and mutually striving together in an honourable rivalry for the welfare and advancement of their common country. And as Steam navigation already connects the neighbouring island of Van Dieman's Land with all the three continental provinces, that important colony will necessarily form from the first an integral and highly influential portion of the great Australian nation.

The actual population of the four Australian colonies of New South Wales, Van Dieman's Land, South Australia, and Port Phillip or Victoria, is therefore at this moment about 620,000 souls, and rapidly increasing; and the material resources of that population, in point of wealth and revenue, are unquestionably superior to those of any community of equal extent on the face of the earth. What then are the analogies with which the procedure of Great Britain herself, and the history of European nations, present us, in reference to the question as to whether such a community is fitted and

entitled to assume the position of a sovereign and independent nation ?

There is no particular number of men, women and children, required, under any law either human or divine, to constitute a nation. The Chinese nation is said to comprise not fewer than three hundred and fifty millions of people, or about a third of the whole human race. The Tahitian nation numbered only about ten thousand souls, when it was swallowed up, and "annexed," by the late Louis Philippe of France ; for which fraternal act towards his royal sister, Queen Pomare, certain people in New South Wales, who were deeply interested in the welfare and advancement of the little nation, are of opinion that the said Louis Philippe met with condign punishment in due time. There is another Polynesian nation, the Hawaiian or Sandwich Island nation, with a king and parliament recognised, and its freedom and independence guaranteed by Great Britain, although it has a considerably smaller population than that even of New South Wales ; the whole population of the Sandwich Islands being by the latest accounts only from 80,000 to 100,000 souls. And surely we are not to be told that a people of British origin are less likely to be able to govern themselves than so much smaller a number of South Sea Islanders.

In like manner, the African Republic of Liberia, consisting almost exclusively of emancipated negro slaves from the United States, with a population still more limited, has also been recognized by Great Britain, and admitted into the family of Sovereign and Independent States. Nay, the mere handful of Dutch boors, who crossed the Orange River only a few years ago, from the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and established an Independent Republic in the interior of Africa, under the able leadership of their chief Pretorius, has also been recog-

nized by Great Britain, at the instance of the late Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir John Pakington, as a Sovereign and Independent State, and admitted as such into diplomatic relations both with England and Holland, although its entire population does not exceed fifty thousand souls! In the face of such instances it would be preposterous to allege that the intelligent British colonists of New South Wales, Van Dieman's Land, South Australia and Port Phillip, who now number upwards of 600,000 souls, are not able to govern themselves in their respective provinces, or to form a National Government for their entire community, as a Sovereign and Independent State. Great Britain herself would surely never commit herself to such an absurdity as an allegation of this kind would imply, after her own formal recognition of the Sandwich Islands, the Negro Commonwealth of Liberia and the Dutch Republic of Central Africa as Sovereign and Independent States.

"A state or commonwealth," says Milton, "is a society sufficient in itself in all things conducive to well-being and commodious life:" and I maintain, without fear of contradiction from any quarter, that the community of the Australian colonies forms, at this moment, just such a society—"a society sufficient in itself in all things conducive to well-being and commodious life."

The present population of the four Australian colonies of New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, South Australia, and Port Phillip or Victoria, is in all probability considerably greater than that of Her Majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland, in the year 1314, when King Robert the Bruce gained the famous battle of Bannockburn, and delivered his country from the intolerable yoke of England. And will it be alleged that

the intelligent and generally well-educated Britons, from all the three kingdoms, who now form the population of the Australian colonies, are less able to govern themselves than the half-civilized Scotch of the fourteenth century? Surely a community of such extent, especially when separated by half the circumference of the globe from the dominant country that professes to have both a right and ability to govern it, must form, to use the language of Milton, "a society sufficient in itself in all things conducive to well-being and commodious life."

The famous Republic of Switzerland was founded in the year 1315, the year after the battle of Bannockburn, through the equally decisive battle of Morgarten. In that battle an Austrian army of not fewer than 20,000 men was defeated by a mere handful of mountaineers, consisting of the confederated bands of the three small forest cantons of Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden, and not exceeding 1350 men altogether. The whole territory of these united cantons measures only 1055 square miles, which is less than the area of the single county of Cumberland in New South Wales; and their entire population, at the era of the French Revolution, that is 450 years after the founding of their state, did not exceed 72,500 souls, which is little more than the population of the city of Sydney at the present day. And yet this mere handful of brave men nobly achieved the freedom and independence of their country, situated although it was in the very centre of Europe, and surrounded by the vast and powerful monarchies of Germany, France, Italy, and Spain; transmitting the precious inheritance unimpaired to their posterity to the present day. For the other cantons of Switzerland, stimulated by their example, gradually joined their confederacy; which now comprises twenty-two cantons,



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with a population and territory nearly equal to those of Scotland. And yet, with this illustrious example before them in the history of the past, there are men of some pretensions even to intelligence who still doubt whether 600,000 Britons, at the very ends of the earth, are fit to manage their own affairs, or could venture upon such a course as freedom and independence implies with safety and propriety!

The facility and success with which representative institutions, even of the most imperfect and objectionable character, have been brought into full operation in all the four Australian colonies, is an unanswerable proof of the fitness of these colonies for complete self-government, or in other words, for entire freedom and independence. Will it be pretended that these institutions would not work much better if their present imperfections were removed, and the reality, and not merely the semblance, of freedom assured to the people? If the colonists can be trusted to elect two-thirds of the members of their Legislatures, as at present, why should they be unfit to elect the remaining third? If they can act intelligently and honestly under a system that affords the mere mockery of representation—through the chicanery of the existing authorities, in so moulding the representative system as to throw the entire power into the hands of the Local Executives—why should they not act with equal honesty and intelligence, under a system that would treat them with strict justice, and ensure to them the full measure of their political rights? Would the sky fall and crush the larks if nomineeism were discontinued? Would the end of all things come if the representatives of the squatting districts were duly proportioned to their respective population, and commissioned henceforth to represent men and not sheep and cattle? Would the

machine of society stop if we were so unfortunate as to have every important question in our policy settled in future on the spot, without sending for orders or instructions to Downing Street? Would the public morals be endangered if the Government Stables were to be cleaned out by the Sovereign People, and the heroes of Berrima and Windsor swept away, with all the rest of the aristocratic pollution that has been accumulating for years past in the chief places of our land, to the shame and disgrace of the Imperial Authorities, who evidently neither care for us nor for our moral welfare? No, not one of these dismal catastrophes would characterise the advent of freedom and independence for the Golden Lands of Australia. In short, the allegation that the Australian people are unfit for self-government, both provincial and national, is tantamount to asserting that they are unfit for good government, because it is the will and pleasure of Imperial selfishness and injustice to treat them with bad.

SECTION IX.—THE SORT OF GOVERNMENT PROPOSED FOR THESE PROVINCES—BOTH PROVINCIAL AND NATIONAL.

The Act of the Imperial Parliament, passed in the year 1850, for the better government of the Australian Colonies, having empowered the Local Legislatures to frame constitutions for these colonies, the colonists have just been treated with the performance of the notable farce of Constitution-making by as questionable a company of performers—in New South Wales especially—as ever trod the political boards. For as the legislatures themselves to which this important work was entrusted, were in no respect a representation of the people, but rather the mere creation of chicanery and fraud, on the part of the Local Government and certain turn-coat patriots of



the older colony, their work, in the article of Constitution-making, was in perfect keeping with their own character and origin; being directly opposed to everything like popular freedom and the rights of men. Without deeming it necessary, however, to comment in detail on the contemptible vagaries of these constitution-mongers, whose chief, if not their only object was to perpetuate their own ill-gotten power, I would simply observe, that no political constitutions will ever be tolerated in these golden lands that are not based on the principles of Universal Suffrage, Equal Electoral Districts, Senates and Assemblies exclusively elective, Short Parliaments, and moderate pay, with no property qualification, for the representatives of the people. I do not attach so much importance to *Vote by Ballot*, at least in the present circumstances of the Australian colonies, as to any of the other principles enumerated. I would greatly prefer that system myself, but I would not insist upon it. Since the era of the gold discoveries our working classes have nothing to fear from the corrupt influence of the employers of labour, and they have therefore no reason to conceal their votes.

Taking up these principles, therefore, in detail—I would insist on Universal Suffrage as a fundamental principle of government in all the Australian colonies,

1. Because the Elective Franchise is the natural and inherent right of freemen, unless they have either forfeited it as criminals, or rendered themselves incapable of exercising it as paupers; and because no power on earth can produce any valid authority for withholding it. The theory of the British Constitution, as declared by Lord John Russell himself, is that every freeman shall have a vote in the election of representatives of the people.

2. Because it affords the broadest and safest basis for

popular government, and prevents all future dissatisfaction, arising from the withholding of their political rights from large bodies of men.

3. Because property and talent will always be found to exercise their proper influence in society, even under the system of universal suffrage.

4. Because the possession of the franchise has a tendency to elevate the masses to that higher level in society which it is desirable the very humblest should reach in a free country: and

5. Because the attempt to establish a more limited franchise, in a country in which the merest day-labourer can earn perhaps from ten to twenty shillings a-day by searching for gold on his own account with a pick and shovel and a tin dish, would be utterly hopeless, and would infallibly lead to civil commotions.

I would stipulate also, as a fundamental principle of government, for Equal Electoral Districts, or representation based on population exclusively:—

1. Because any other mode of distributing the representation is grossly unjust, and the mere device of an unprincipled government to rob the people of their political rights. The so-called representative system of the Australian colonies, and more especially that of New South Wales, (which strongly resembles the system of England before the Reform Bill,) is an insufferable outrage upon the rights of the colonists, and thoroughly disgraceful to all concerned in making it the law of the land: and

2. Because in a country in which there are no hereditary aristocracy and no vested interests, wealth will naturally diffuse itself so equably over the face of society that any given number of people, sufficient to constitute an Electoral District—say five thousand—whether in town or country, will infallibly be found to

possess an equal amount of wealth with the same number in any other part of the territory.

In regard to the present system of Nomineeism, I should consider it an insult to the common sense of mankind to put forth any formal arguments for the exclusive application of the elective principle to the formation of our future Legislatures. As to the principle, however, of "moderate pay and no property qualification for the representatives of the people," I would strongly insist upon such an arrangement; because the people have an undoubted right to choose for their representatives those whom they consider the fittest and properest persons for the purpose, and because they have no right to claim the services of these persons without making them a suitable remuneration for their time and trouble. Besides, when members of Legislative bodies receive no pay for their services, they not unfrequently neglect their proper duties and absent themselves altogether from the meetings of the Legislature, (as for example in the notorious instances of Messrs. Marsh and Murray in New South Wales, each of whom was absent from the Legislative Council for a whole session); and they too often take care also to secure much more than adequate payment in an illegitimate way, by virtually selling their votes and influence to a corrupt Government.

As to the duration of Parliaments, I would make the Houses of Representatives, both provincial and national, biennial, and the Senates of the Upper Houses perpetual; making one-third of the members of the Senates retire every second year, so that each Senator would be elected for six years. Under such a system, perhaps the best Electoral College for the choosing of members for the Senate would be the Lower House, or the House of Representatives. The two

houses would thus be essentially popular in their character, while the circumstance of the longer term of the Senator, and the fact that two-thirds of the Senate would always represent two former Houses of Representatives, would form a strong conservative power in that body. I would recommend a biennial period for the Houses of Representatives for the following reasons:—

1. Because the progress which these colonies make in the space of two years is much greater comparatively than that of the mother-country in seven. Consequently, a legislative body elected for a longer term would in all likelihood be behind the times long before the regular period of its dissolution.

2. Because it is just and necessary that the people should have frequent opportunities of calling their representatives to account, and of either confirming them in their office or of making another choice.

3. Because the election of Houses of Representatives for two years would afford an easy and highly eligible mode of renovating the Senates periodically, and of bringing them into harmony with the Lower Houses, without electing their members for too long a term. If the Provincial Senates were elected for six years, and each Provincial House of Representatives empowered to elect one-third of the members of the Senate, either from its own body, or from persons who had previously been elected by the people, the Provincial Senates would have permanence and stability, and a knowledge of business on the part of their members generally, combined with periodical renovation. Besides, this mode of appointment to the Senate would diminish the number and excitement of General Elections, which would be very desirable on many accounts.

It is worthy of remark that the celebrated Dean Swift,

although a high Tory, of the reign of Queen Anne, was as strenuous an advocate for "annual parliaments" as the late Jeremy Bentham, the Radical, in the reign of George III. To tell the honest truth, it was the Whigs who extended the duration of parliaments in England from three to seven years, to the incalculable injury of the British Constitution. The following are the remarkable words of the celebrated Dean :—

"As to parliaments, I adored the wisdom of that Gothic institution which made them annual; and I was confident our liberty could never be placed upon a firm foundation until the ancient law were restored among us: for who sees not that, while such assemblies are permitted to have a longer duration, there grows up a commerce of corruption between the ministry and the deputies, wherein they both find their accounts, to the manifest danger of liberty; which traffic would neither answer the design nor expense if parliaments met once a year."\*

In regard to the question whether a provincial legislature should consist of one or of two houses, I concur in the general opinion, that the division of the Legislature into two houses affords the best security for the stability and permanence of a free government, while it is unquestionably accordant with the practice of the greatest and freest nations of modern times. The French Republic, doubtless, both of the first and second edition, had but one Chamber; and the celebrated Lamartine, who took so prominent a part in the formation of the second Republic, argues, that as perfect equality had been established in France, after the revolution, there were no materials left in the country for the construction of an Upper or Aristocratic

\* Dean Swift's Letter to Pope. Dublin, Jan. 10, 1721.

House.\* But the very brief existence of both of these famous republics affords but an indifferent argument for the permanence and stability of a government based on a legislature consisting of only one chamber. Besides, there was a large proportion of the members of the First National or Constituent Assembly of France strongly in favour of two chambers, although they were eventually overruled. And as to the argument founded on the alleged want of materials for the construction of an Upper House in a country in which perfect equality is the law of the land, it is obviously untenable; for there is an Upper House, or Senate, in the United States, although perfect equality is as much the law of the land *there* as it has ever been in France. The Senate of the United States, existing as it does in the very midst of this perfect equality, is universally regarded as one of the most valuable institutions of the country, and it evidently occupies a much higher place in the affections and veneration of that country than even the House of Lords does in our own. It is evident, at all events, that an aristocracy is not necessary for the existence and beneficial operation of a legislature to consist of two houses. The following are the opinions of the celebrated Edmund Burke, addressed to a member

\* Where were, (in 1791) and where would be now, the constitutive elements of two chambers, in a nation whose entire revolution is but a convulsion towards unity? If the second chamber be democratic and temporary, it is but a twofold democracy without one common impulse. It can only serve to retard the common impulse, or destroy the unity of the public will. If it is hereditary and aristocratic, it supposes an aristocracy pre-existent in, and acknowledged by, the State. \* \* Besides, these pretended divisions of power are always fictions; power is never really divided. It is like the will, it is one, or it is not. If there be two chambers, it is in one of the two; the other complies and is dissolved  
—Lamartine: *History of the Girondists*, vol. i. p. 262.

of the First National Assembly of France, on this subject :—

“ Your all-sufficient legislators, in their hurry to do every thing at once, have forgot one thing that seems essential, and which, I believe, never has been before, in the theory and the practice, omitted by any projector of a republic. They have forgot to constitute a *senate*, or something of that nature and character. Never, before this time, was heard of a body politic composed of one legislative and active assembly, and its executive officers, without such a council; without something to which, in the ordinary detail of government, the people could look up; something which might give a bias and steadiness, and preserve something like consistency in the proceedings of state. Such a body kings generally have as a council. A monarchy may exist without it; but it seems to be in the very essence of a republican government. It holds a sort of middle place between the supreme power exercised by the people, or immediately delegated from them, and the mere executive. Of this there are no traces in your constitution; and, in providing nothing of this kind, your Solons and Numas have, as much as in anything else, discovered a sovereign incapacity.”\*

Supposing, then, that a Senate and House of Representatives should be constituted on a popular basis, for each of the existing Australian provinces, with a proviso for the extension of a similar constitution to such other provinces as might hereafter be formed, I would propose that a Senate and House of Representatives should be constituted also for the General Government or National Legislature. In the House of Representatives I would have the popular element throughout the national union

\* *Reflections on the Revolution in France.* By the Right Honourable Edmund Burke.

represented; each province having a number of representatives, to be elected by the people, proportioned to its entire population: but in the Senate, or Upper House, I would have the provinces represented equally, without reference to population; and the choice of these Senators I would entrust to the respective provincial Senates and Houses of Representatives,—these bodies to meet together in the same house for that special purpose, as is customary in certain cases in the Norwegian Storting.\*

Thus, supposing the Province of New South Wales had a provincial Senate of fifteen, and a House of Representatives of forty-five members; and supposing the number of senators allotted to each province for the national legislature should be three; the fifteen provincial senators of New South Wales would meet with the forty-five members of the House of Representatives, and elect, either by ballot or otherwise, three senators for the National Legislature. And supposing that each fifteen thousand of the entire population should be entitled to return a member for the Lower House of legislature, New South Wales would be entitled to return fifteen members for a population of two hundred and thirty thousand. A President and Vice-President—the latter to be the Speaker of the National Senate, as in the United States—would be best elected by the whole Australian nation; and there would thus be a bond of union established among the confederated provinces, while a noble career of honourable ambition would be thrown open to the master-spirits of the nation.

Such, then, are the provinces that could be formed—five of them immediately, and the other two in a few

\* Laing's *Travels in Norway*.



years hence—into a grand national union for the government of the eastern division of the continent of Australia. It would be preposterous to allege, after the example we have already had of the working even of imperfectly representative institutions in New South Wales, that such a government could not be formed with the utmost facility; and it were equally preposterous to allege that such a government would not be eminently efficient in its character and working, remarkably economical in its structure and management, and in the highest degree satisfactory to the people. And if it is the law of nature and the ordinance of God, as I maintain it is, that we, the Australian people, who have already attained our political majority, and are both able and willing to govern ourselves, should be forthwith permitted to do so by the parent state, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt that the longer a measure of such paramount importance is deferred, incalculable evils will, in one form or other, result both to Great Britain and to Australia. It is unsafe in the highest degree to counteract a law of nature: it is positively sinful to resist an ordinance of God.

SECTION X.—A COMPROMISE PROPOSED AND CONSIDERED—PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION FOR THE COLONIES.

Among the various expedients that were proposed by ingenious speculators, and rejected by both parties, during the American troubles, previous to the War of Independence, was that of Parliamentary Representation for the colonies. It has been suggested also, in more recent times, in the House of Commons; and there have occasionally been colonists of talent and standing who have expressed themselves favourably in regard to it. The person who first suggested the idea appears to

have been Oldmixon, an American annalist of the era of Queen Anne and George I. It was afterwards put forward with approbation by the celebrated Dr. Adam Smith, and advocated for a time, but afterwards rejected and strongly opposed, by Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Franklin was too keen an observer of passing events, when sojourning in London as a delegate from the colony of Pennsylvania, not to perceive how utterly valueless for his constituents a seat in the House of Commons would be for the Representative of a colony. Only think how the Honourable Member for Botany Bay would be sneered at on the floor of the House, and what small effect anything he could say would be likely to have on the affairs of the nation! Besides, what possible interest can the people of New South Wales or South Australia have in one even out of every hundred of the questions that are brought before Parliament? It would decidedly be unconstitutional, and therefore wrong, for the people of England to allow a mere colonial member to vote on any question of British taxation or of internal administration; and would it be accordant with the self-respect which the colonists owe themselves to allow their members to sit silent in the British House of Commons? We can learn from the public press, without the circuitous and expensive course of having a Parliamentary Representative to report it, how often the House is counted out every session on colonial questions, of whatever importance they may be to the colonies; and we all know already, without a Parliamentary Representative to guarantee the fact, the precise degree of indifference and disgust with which colonial questions are almost uniformly regarded in that House.

Besides, what are we to do for representation for the colonies in the House of Lords; for we are surely quite

as much entitled to representation in that House as in the other? Are we to have colonial Peers of Parliament as well as colonial members of the Lower House—the Marquis of Parramatta, for instance, Lord Wollongong, and Viscount Curraducbidgee? We, colonists, are certainly not responsible for the ridiculousness of the thing—it is no proposal of ours.

Again, if we fell into the trap that is thus proposed to be set for us, by accepting Parliamentary Representation for the colonies, we should virtually declare that the British Parliament has a *right* to legislate for the colonies, just as it has for the people of England, and to precisely the same extent; and we should thereby be bartering away the liberties of our country for a thing of no value whatever. We have certainly no desire, as Australian colonists, to legislate for the people of England; and we deny that the people of England can have any right, by the law of nature, which is the ordinance of God, to legislate for us.

It may not be inexpedient, however, to ascertain what opinions were actually entertained and propounded on this subject by the American colonists; for if Parliamentary Representation was deemed unsuitable and undesirable for them, *a fortiori* it must be undesirable and unsuitable for *us* at the extremity of the globe.

“Our Representatives,” says Smith, in his History of New York, “agreeably to the general sense of their constituents, are tenacious in the opinion that \* \* \* the session of Assemblies here is wisely substituted instead of a representation in Parliament, which, all things considered, would *at this remote distance* be extremely *inconvenient and dangerous.*”\*

At a considerably later period than the one referred

\* Grahame's *Hist. of the United States of North America*, vol. iii. p. 324.

to by this historian, viz., in the year 1765, "there assembled in the town of New York a convention composed of twenty-eight delegates from the assemblies of nine of the colonies; one of their resolutions was as follows, viz.: "That while all the British subjects are entitled to the privilege of being taxed only by their own representatives, *the remote situation of the colonies rendered it impracticable that they should be represented except in their own subordinate legislatures.*"\*

The Assembly of Massachusetts, during the same year, resolved "That the citizens of Massachusetts never had been, and never could be, adequately represented in the British Parliament."†

The following is a Resolution of the Original American Congress on the same subject:—

"That the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their Legislative Council; *And as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances cannot properly be represented, in the British Parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved in all cases of taxation and internal polity.*"‡

To the same effect Dr. Benjamin Franklin "declared his conviction, that the legislatures of Britain and America were and ought to be distinct from each other, and that the relation between the two countries was

\* Grahame's *Hist. of the United States of North America*, vol. iv. p. 217.

† *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 374.

‡ *Resolutions of the Congress of Philadelphia, A. D. 1774.*

precisely analogous to that which had subsisted between England and Scotland previous to their Union."\*

Finally, the famous Jeremy Bentham, in his pamphlet, entitled "Emancipate your Colonies," addressed to the National Assembly of France, characterises the scheme of Parliamentary Representation for the Colonies in the following language:—"Oh, but they will send deputies: and those deputies will govern us as much as we govern them."—Illusion!—What is that but doubling the mischief instead of lessening it? To give yourself a pretence for governing a million or two of strangers, you admit half a dozen. To govern a million or two of people you don't care about, you admit half a dozen people that don't care about you. To govern a set of people whose business you know nothing about, you encumber yourselves with half a dozen starers, who know nothing about yours. Is this fraternity? Is this liberty and equality? Open domination would be a less grievance. Were I an American, I had rather not be represented at all than represented thus. If tyranny must come, let it come without a mask. *Oh, but information!* True, it must be had; but to give information, must a man possess a vote?"

"The colonies," says an able writer in the *Edinburgh Review* for July 1853, in an article on Earl Grey's Colonial Administration,—“The colonies are not, and cannot be, directly represented in Parliament; the number of members who are well-informed upon any colonial question which is the subject of debate, is always very small; and unless the question can be drawn into the party-contests of the day, the debate takes place before a thin and inattentive audience, whose knowledge of the facts is limited and confused.

\* Grahame's *History of the United States of North America*, vol. iv. p. 221.

The popular forms of an Imperial Government secure a hearing to the complaints of dependencies, but they afford few securities for correct decision. \* \* \* Political judges may be indifferent as well as impartial. Some interest is desirable to warm the affections, though too much interest may distort the judgment. This is an evil inherent in every form of dependence; whether the power be vested in a Secretary of State or in a House of Commons."

SECTION XL.—ANOTHER COMPROMISE PROPOSED AND CONSIDERED—  
MUNICIPAL INDEPENDENCE.

Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, a gentleman for whom I have the highest respect, and who has laid the colonial world under the strongest obligations for the invaluable services he has rendered to society in the cause of colonization, proposes, in common with various other colonial reformers, that the colonial legislatures should have entire freedom and independence in all *subordinate* matters, or in other words, what he calls municipal independence, but that all imperial questions should be left to the *Imperial* Parliament. As it would require some party, however, to decide which were *imperial* and which were *subordinate* questions, and as no such party can exist under the circumstances supposed, this beautiful theory could never be reduced to practice.

"Many," says the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Franklin, in the preface to his pamphlet, entitled *Considerations on the Nature and the Extent of the Authority of the British Parliament*—"Many will perhaps be surprised to see the legislative authority of the British Parliament over the colonies *denied in every instance*. These the writer informs, that, when he began this piece, he would probably have been surprised at such an opinion him-

self. For it was the result, not the occasion, of his disquisitions. He entered upon them with a view and expectation of being able to trace some constitutional line between those cases in which we ought, and those in which we ought not, to acknowledge the power of Parliament over us. In the prosecution of his enquiries he became fully convinced that *such a line doth not exist*; and that there can be no medium between acknowledging and denying that power in ALL CASES.\*

It is remarkable how much better the principles of civil liberty were understood, apparently by every body, in the seventeenth century, than they are at the present day even by colonial reformers. In the year 1610 the Virginia Company passed an ordinance to the effect, that "the enactments of the (Colonial) Assembly should not have the force of law till sanctioned by the Court of Proprietors in England; and that *the orders of this Court should have no force in Virginia till ratified by the Virginia Assembly.*"† There was something like reciprocity in this enactment; but I confess I see nothing of the kind in Mr. Wakefield's proposal.

Again, in the year 1636, the colony of Plymouth (in Massachusetts) drew up a body of laws, of which the first is "That no act, imposition, law, or ordinance be made or imposed upon us at present, or to come, *but such as has been or shall be enacted by the consent of the body of freemen, or their representatives, legally assembled, which is according to the free liberties of the freeborn people of England.*"‡

\* *Considerations on the Nature and the Extent of the Authority of the British Parliament.* By Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Rivington's *New York Gazetteer*, October 30th, 1774.

† Grahame's *Hist. of the United States of America*, vol. i. p. 70.

‡ Holmes' *Annals of America*, vol. i.

Then again, in the year 1662, that is, during the reign of Charles the Second, the worst period in our history, "certain of the leading colonists (of Rhode Island), together with all other persons who should in future be admitted freemen of the society, were incorporated by the title of The Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence. The supreme or legislative power was invested in an assembly consisting of the Governor, Assistants, and Representatives *elected from their own number by the freemen*. This assembly was empowered to enact ordinances and forms of government and magistracy, with as much conformity to the laws of England as the state of the country and condition of the people would admit; to erect courts of justice; to regulate the manner of appointment to places of trust; to inflict all lawful punishments; and to exercise the prerogative of pardon. A governor, deputy-governor, and ten assistants were appointed to be annually chosen by the assembly; and the first board of these officers, nominated by the Charter, on the suggestion of the provincial agent, were authorised to commence the work of carrying its provisions into execution."\*

A charter equally liberal was granted during the same year to the Colony of Connecticut, by the same monarch—Charles the Second!

Again, in the year 1775, the assembly of New York declared, in a petition to Parliament for the redress of grievances, "that exemption from internal taxation, and the *exclusive* power of providing for their own civil government and the administration of justice in the colony, are esteemed by them their undoubted and inalienable rights."†

\* Grahame's *Hist. of the United States*, vol. i. p. 316.

† *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 369.



And again, "The birthright of every British subject is, to have a property of his own, in his estate, person, and reputation; subject only to laws enacted by his own concurrence, either in person or by his representatives; and which birthright accompanies him wheresoever he wanders or rests, so long as he is within the pale of the British dominions, and is true to his allegiance."\*

One extract more and I have done: "Massachusetts and New Hampshire—the one enjoying a chartered, the other an unchartered jurisdiction—were the only two provinces in New England in which the superior officers of government were appointed by the Crown, and from the tribunals of which an appeal was admitted to the king in Council. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, all the officers of government (excepting the members of the Court of Assembly), were elected by the inhabitants; and so resolutely was this highly-valued privilege defended, that when King William appointed Fletcher, the governor of New York, to command the Connecticut militia, the province refused to acknowledge his authority. The laws of these States were not subject to the negative, nor the judgments of their tribunals to the review of the king. So perfectly democratic were the constitutions of Connecticut and Rhode Island, that in neither of them was the governor suffered to exercise a negative on the resolutions of the assembly. The spirit of liberty was not repressed in Massachusetts by the encroachments of royal prerogative on the ancient privileges of the people, but was vigorously exerted through the remaining and important organ of the provincial assembly. All the patronage that was vested in the Royal Governor was never able to create more than a

† Dr. Benjamin Franklin's *Historical Review of the Constitution of Pennsylvania*. Grahame, vol. iv. p. 440.

very inconsiderable royalist party in this State. The functionaries whom he, or whom the Crown appointed, depended on the popular assembly for the emoluments of their officers; and although the most strenuous efforts and the most formidable threats were employed by the British ministers to free the Governor himself from the same dependence, they were never able to prevail with the Assembly to annex a fixed salary to his office. The people and the popular authorities of Massachusetts were always ready to set an example to the other colonies of a determined resistance to the encroachments of Royal prerogative.”\*

These American colonists would scarcely have thanked Mr. Wakefield for what he designates “municipal independence,” highly as he esteems it. They looked for something of a much more liberal character, and on a much firmer basis than that gentleman would seem disposed to allow. For in order to enable the Imperial Government and Parliament to correct any false step which might be made in the way of granting even Municipal Constitutions for the colonies, by giving the colonists too much, Mr. W. proposes that the Charters granting these constitutions should be revocable by the Parliament at pleasure!

“In order to retain for the Imperial Power the most complete general control over the colony, the colonial constitution, instead of being granted immutably and in perpetuity, as our old municipal charters were, should, in the Charter itself, be declared liable to revocation or alteration by the Crown, upon address from both Houses of Parliament.”†

And does Mr. Wakefield really suppose that the Aus-

\* Grahame's *Hist. of the United States*, vol. i. p. 421.

† *View of the Art of Colonization, &c.* By Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Esq., p. 308. London, 1849.

tralian colonists—half a million of people at the ends of the earth—would be abject and spiritless enough to accept such a constitution as this? I thought he had known us better. In one word, there is only one way in which the question can be settled definitively, and at the same time satisfactorily for all parties, that is, the way prescribed by the law of nature and the ordinance of God.

But “why,” it may be asked—“Why not rest satisfied with a General Government for the whole of the Australian provinces, in addition to the Local Government for each, (as proposed by Earl Grey, of happy memory, in the year 1849,) without constituting that General Government a National Government, and without dissolving the existing connection with the British Empire? Why should there not still be a Supreme and controuling authority in the Mother-country?”

This question, I would observe in reply, although often asked by persons even of the highest intelligence in the Mother-country, betrays so wonderful an ignorance of human nature, as well as of the history of the world, that it would seem a studied insult to the common sense of mankind to propose it, if it were not self-evident that the inordinate vanity and extreme selfishness of men in the possession of power render them blind to its real import. To any man of a rightly constituted mind, there can be no earthly equivalent for freedom or self-government. To a community entitled to the blessing of self-government, there can be no earthly equivalent for national independence. The man who can submit willingly, and without the direst necessity, to the deprivation of his personal freedom is a slave at heart. The community entitled to self-government that can willingly submit to a condition of political dependence, when it might otherwise obtain its en-

tire political freedom and national independence, is utterly unworthy of a place and a name among the nations of the earth.\*

Is it not the natural and necessary consequence of a young man's coming of age and being able to do for himself, that he should desire to originate a family and to form an establishment of his own? Does he not gain immensely in self-respect, as well as in the estimation of his fellow-citizens, when he takes up this new position and discharges its duties accordingly? Does he not feel that he is thenceforth a man and not a mere boy, and does he not act or endeavour to act in accordance with the dignity of this new and higher character? In particular, is not the virtue of self-reliance—the parent of all that is great and noble in humanity—which is then exhibited in his character and procedure, perhaps for the first time, of incalculable advantage to him for the gradual development of his own native energies both of body and mind? And does not his mind expand with his new circumstances, so that he takes up, as a matter of course, a higher position in society, and forms and executes enterprises which he would never have dreamed of before?

And is it not precisely the same with a community, which is merely a collection of such individuals? Is it fitting that such a community should be kept in leading-

\* When Caractacus—the noble British prince, who had been betrayed by his own countrymen into the hands of the Romans, after an unsuccessful struggle for the freedom and independence of his country, and been carried as a prisoner to Rome, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius—was asked how he had dared to appear in arms against the Majesty of Rome, he replied by asking indignantly, in language which every Australian colonist might well use to the Imperial Government and the people of England, "Does it follow, because you have a mind to rule over all, that therefore every one must tamely submit?" *Rapin. Hist. of Eng. Book 1.*

strings for an indefinite period, at the pleasure or caprice of others? Is it just and right that such a community should be directed in all its most important concerns, and guided and influenced in all its movements, by people who are individually no better than so many of its own members, and who can know almost nothing about their real circumstances and condition, for this best of all reasons, that they are living on opposite sides of the globe—so far apart that when it is day with the one it is night with the other? Nay, is it not a blasphemous assumption of the Divine attributes of omniscience and infallibility for any men in such circumstances to pretend to be able to govern a whole series of full-grown communities at the ends of the earth? And is it not tantamount to a confession of utter imbecility—of being no better than mere children or idiots—on the part of such a community, to submit silently to such monstrous usurpation? If Great Britain has a right to govern the Australian colonies, then ought there never to have been any subordinate government upon earth, since the patriarch Noah came forth from the ark and erected his tent at the foot of Mount Ararat, as the head of his family and the universal sovereign of this habitable globe; for we are all the undoubted colonists of that aboriginal stock—we have all come forth from that first settlement and Head-quarters of the postdiluvian world. What right can Great Britain, one of the mere derivative colonies from this primæval stock, have to prescribe conditions of obedience to us, who are only a single remove farther from our common father Noah, that venerable king of men, especially when we have the whole solid globe interposed between us and this pretended seat of legitimate authority over us in Downing Street and London? In short, if we, the Australian people, have a natural and inherent right to our

freedom and independence, as the great Grotius and a host of other illustrious names assure us we have, what right can either Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, or the Imperial Parliament, have to subject us to their dominion one hour longer than we please ourselves? They may doubtless be of opinion—honestly enough—that we are still greatly in want of a dry-nurse over the water, and that we should otherwise be in danger of soiling our clean pinafores; in short, they may be of opinion that we should be much happier and better off in every way under *their* guidance than if governing ourselves. But we are not bound by their opinion in a matter in which our own interests and happiness are so deeply at stake. We have a right to think and act for ourselves in the case, and this is surely sufficient to incline the balance in our favour, independently of the other and higher considerations I have enumerated above.

To bring the matter to a short issue, let the case be reversed. Supposing then that we, the Australian people, were an old established and colonizing people, as we shall doubtless be some day or other, and that we had at length discovered, through one of our illustrious navigators, a large island called Great Britain, somewhere on the other side of the world; and supposing that shortly after this discovery was made, that is, more than half a century ago, we had planted a colony in the said island and given great grants of land and plenty of slave-labour to the settlers, to induce respectable people to take up their abode in the new colony; and supposing that this colony had increased and multiplied in the interval till it had become a flourishing community of half a million of souls: would it be right and proper for us, the Senate and people of Australia, to insist that these Australian colonists of Britain should refrain from asserting their freedom and

independence, when both able and willing to achieve it for themselves, in deference to us, their lords and masters at Botany Bay, and because their rejection of our yoke would diminish the glory of the Australian Empire in the eyes of those respectable neighbours of ours, the people of China and Japan? This is what logicians call a *reductio ad absurdum*, and I appeal to the common sense of mankind, as to whether it is not sufficient to decide the whole question. The law of the case is simply the Law of Christ, the great Lawgiver for all nations, *Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them*. This is the Golden Rule for all such cases, and there can be no difficulty in its application. Besides, it is the rule that Great Britain herself, in her pride of place, has again and again prescribed to the Americans in regard to the emancipation of their negro slaves—and, for my own part, I do not object to her applying it in that case by any means;—but it is the last rule she ever thinks of applying to herself, in regard to her ill-governed and oppressed colonies. Oh no! save Great Britain from acting upon the Golden Rule towards Colonial insignificance! “The law of Christ may be good enough for the Americans; but only think of applying it to us here in England! Pooh! Pooh! Nonsense!”

#### SECTION XII.—NATIONALITY A REAL AND NOT AN IMAGINARY GOOD.

If the desire of freedom and independence is natural to colonists, as I have shown it is—if it is the necessary result of the circumstances in which they are placed, inasmuch as “a nation is formed within them”—it must necessarily be implanted in their breasts by the All-wise and Beneficent Creator; and it is doubtless

so implanted that it may be gratified. The feeling of nationality is no emanation from the nether regions: it comes down to us from heaven. It is the gift of God for the welfare and advancement of his creature man, and bears no resemblance to *the works of the Devil*.

So far indeed from the feeling of nationality being a mere matter of the imagination, it constitutes a bond of brotherhood of the most influential and salutary character, and forms one of the most powerful principles of virtuous action. Like the main-spring of a watch, it sets the whole machinery in motion. Like the heart, it causes the pulse of life to beat in the farthest extremities of the system. It is the very soul of society, which animates and exalts the whole brotherhood of associated men.

And must the young Australian be debarred from the exercise of that generous and manly feeling, of which every rightly constituted mind is conscious, when he exclaims, with deep emotion,

This is my own, my native land !

And must it be held a crime for the Australian colonist, who has come forth in the vigour of manhood to this far land, to labour earnestly for the freedom and independence of his adopted country, and to identify himself, in reality, as well as in imagination, with the coming glories of that great nation of the future, of which he forms a part ?

In one word, nationality, or their entire freedom and independence, is absolutely necessary for the social welfare and political advancement of the Australian colonies. Give us *this*, and you give us everything to enable us to become a great and glorious people. Withhold *this*, and you give us nothing. "Is not depend-



ence, however slight," observes that truly eminent man, Sir James Brooke, the Rajah of Sarawak, when contemplating the abject condition of the Malayan race in the Indian Archipelago, under the depressing influence of Dutch domination for three long centuries—"Is not dependence, however slight, a bar [to national advancement?] I should answer, Yes: *National independence is essential to the first dawn of political institutions.*"\*

The value and importance of National Independence may be ascertained and inferred from the estimation in which it has always been held by the wisest, the greatest and the best of men in all countries and ages; from the costly sacrifices and heroic efforts that have been so often made for its achievement, and from the splendid results with which its attainment has been generally, if not uniformly, followed.

"There is a charm and a moral power in the very idea of nationality, that demonstrates alike its divine original and the beneficence of its design. It nerves the arm of the patriot, and renders him irresistible. It is a moral instinct omnipotent for good; and it cannot possibly have been implanted in the breast of man for evil."†

Look at Switzerland, whose national independence dates from the famous battle of Morgarten, in the year 1315, when the three small forest cantons of Uri, Schwytz and Unterwalden—with a territory not so large altogether as the single county of Cumberland in New South Wales, and a population consisting almost entirely of shepherds and neatherds, and so limited

\* *Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes, &c.*, vol. i. p. 67. London, 1849.

† *Repeal or Revolution; or, a Glimpse of the Irish Future.* By the author of this work. London, 1848.

withal, that the whole of the male adults capable of bearing arms, did not exceed 1350 men—successfully opposed the whole power of Austria and completely routed an army of 20,000 strong, including a large body of horse and many knights in complete armour. A second memorable battle—that of Sempach—was fought by the same heroic people, with a similar result, in the year 1386; and from that period their confederation has gradually increased, not by conquest, but by voluntary adhesion, from three to twenty-two cantons. But their whole territory is even yet considerably smaller in extent than Her Majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland, and their entire population amounts only to two millions and a quarter. But this mere handful of people, although situated in the very centre of Europe, and surrounded by mighty and often hostile empires, have nobly maintained their freedom and independence for five centuries and a half; preserving their simple republican institutions unchanged, and transmitting them unimpaired from generation to generation, while every country around them has been convulsed, and has changed its constitution and its masters, again and again. But the energy and force of character, which their national independence produced and perpetuated, have hitherto enabled this simple people to maintain, in the face of all Europe, the noble position, and to preserve unsullied the illustrious name which their virtuous and heroic forefathers had thus bequeathed them.

Not less memorable was the struggle for national independence in Scotland, against the unprincipled ambition and tyranny of Edward the First of England: not less illustrious was its successful issue in the famous battle of Bannockburn, through the long-continued and heroic exertions of that Royal patriot, king Robert the

Bruce, in the year 1314, the very year before<sup>1</sup> the establishment of the Swiss Republic.

“The complete independence of Scotland,” says the historian, Tytler, “for which the people of that land had obstinately sustained a war of thirty-two years’ duration, was at last amply acknowledged, and established on the firmest basis; and England, with her powerful fleets, and superb armies, her proud nobility, and her wealthy exchequer, was, by superior courage and military talent, compelled to renounce for ever her schemes of unjust aggression.”\*

“Such,” observes the same historian,—“Such was the great battle of Bannockburn, interesting above all others which have been fought between the then rival nations, if we consider the issue which hung upon it, and very glorious to Scotland, both in the determined courage with which it was disputed by the troops, the high military talents displayed by the king of Scotland and his leaders, and the amazing disparity between the numbers of the combatants.† Its consequences were in the highest degree important. It put an end for ever to all hopes on the part of England of accomplishing the conquest of her sister-country. The plan, of which we can discover the foundations as far back as the reign of Alexander III, and for the furtherance of which the first Edward was content to throw away so much of treasure, and blood, and character, was put down in the way all such schemes ought to be defeated,

\* *Hist. of Scotland.* By Tytler, vol. I. p. 438, Sub Anno 1329.

† The English consisted of upwards of 100,000 men, including 40,000 cavalry, of whom 3000 were in complete armour, both man and horse, and 50,000 archers. The greatest force that Bruce could collect did not amount to 40,000 fighting men. Thirty thousand of the English were left dead upon the field, including 200 knights and 700 esquires.

by the strong hand of free-born men, who were determined to remain so; and the spirit of indignant resistance to foreign power, which had been awakened by Wallace, but crushed for a season by the dissensions of a jealous and an ambitious nobility, was directed and concentrated by the master-spirit of Bruce, and found fully adequate to overwhelm the united military energies of a kingdom, far superior to Scotland in all that constituted military strength. Nor have the consequences of this victory been partial or confined. *Their duration throughout succeeding centuries of Scottish history and Scottish liberty, down to the hour in which we now write, cannot be questioned; and without launching out into any inappropriate field of historical speculation, we have only to think of the most obvious consequences which must have resulted from Scotland becoming a conquered province of England; and if we wish for proof, to fix our eyes on the present condition of Ireland, in order to feel the present reality of all that we owe to the victory of Bannockburn, and to the memory of such men as Bruce, Randolph, and Douglas.*"\*

Before leaving this subject, I would point out an incident in the history of the great struggle for national independence which was then brought to a successful issue in Scotland, which exhibits in the most interesting manner the estimation in which that great blessing was held by the noble-minded Scotsmen of the 14th century.

In the year 1320, when king Edward II, of England, was pursuing the unprincipled schemes of his father, Edward I, for the subjugation of Scotland, and was using pecuniary and other influence at Rome to get the Scots

\* *Hist. of Scotland.* By P. F. Tytler, Esq. i. 321.

and their king, the famous Robert Bruce, placed under the ban of the Pope as rebels against their alleged liege lord, the king of England, "the Scottish nobility," as the historian Tytler informs us, "assembled in Parliament at Aberbrothock, and with consent of the king, the barons, freeholders, and whole community of Scotland, directed a letter or manifesto to the Pope," containing, among others, the following noble sentiments, "If he," (that is king Robert Bruce) "should desist from what he has begun, and should shew an inclination to subject us or our kingdom to the king of England, or to his people, then we declare, we will use our utmost effort to expel him from the throne, as our enemy, and the subverter of his own and of our right, and we will choose another king to rule over us, who will be able to defend us; for *as long as a hundred Scotsmen are left alive, we will never be subject to the dominion of England. It is not for glory, riches, or honour, that we fight, but for that liberty which no good man will consent to lose but with his life.*"\*

The Seven United Provinces of Holland, which had previously groaned under the intolerable yoke of Spain, declared themselves independent, and formed the Batavian Republic, in the year 1579; their entire population at the time being in all probability much about that of the Australian colonies at the present day.† They were then but a paltry collection of insignificant fishing villages at

\* *Hist. of Scotland.* By Patrick Fraser Tytler, Esq., I. 368.

† The present population of the kingdom of Holland, exclusive of the duchy of Luxembourg, which formed no part of the Seven United Provinces, does not exceed 3,000,000. My estimate of its amount three centuries ago must therefore be pretty correct, for there was no country in Europe that benefitted so much from immigration as Holland, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

the mouths of the Rhine, just as the founders of Swiss liberty were a mere company of Shepherds and Neatherds on the flanks of the higher Alps. But—so wonderful was the change which was then effected in their whole national character—within twenty-five years from the declaration of their independence, these Dutch fishermen had become the first maritime power of Europe, and were able to keep both Spain and Portugal at bay; establishing a great empire in the East, and discovering *New Holland*, which we trust is destined to follow the same noble example, in the year 1605.

“As soon,” says Professor Gervinus, of Heidelberg, one of the ablest historical and political writers of the age—“As soon as this petty nation (Holland) had asserted its independence, when the tree (according to Maurice of Saxony,) was yet only a sapling, it made Antwerp, its metropolis, the centre of the commerce of the world, and amassed enormous riches by the freight of goods. In a most unequal conflict, it made successful war with Spain. By the activity of its mercantile establishments, it first connected the different quarters of the world with one another, by a constant interchange of goods. It soon commanded the greatest naval force in Europe, precipitated the State, which drained the mines of Peru, into bankruptcy, and shook the power of its immense colonies in the East and in the West.”\*

“The Greeks,” says Professor Heeren, of Göttingen, “had no idea of a commonwealth which did not govern itself.”† And the spirit that animated that wonderful people has not yet completely died out in the land which they have rendered so illustrious by their noble deeds.

\* Gervinus' *Introduction to the History of the 19th century*.

† Heeren's *Greece*.

The comparatively recent struggle for the independence of Greece, exhibited a whole series of deeds of self-sacrifice and heroism as illustrious as any that adorn the ancient annals of their nation. Modern Greece, which achieved its independence in the year 1829, and now enjoys that independence under the guarantee of Britain, France, and Russia, has even yet, after the lapse of a whole quarter of a century, a population of not more than 900,000. In one word, the value of national independence cannot possibly be estimated at too high a rate by those who possess it, and the effort to attain it, in whatever way that effort requires to be made, is the most ennobling in which the human faculties and energies can be engaged. "I hold," says General Santa Anna, the present President of the Republic of Mexico, a country which we are apt to place at the very bottom of the scale in all that is honourable and ennobling to humanity—"I hold that independence is the greatest of our blessings, and every good citizen should defend it with all his power."\*

England has been thrice conquered—first by the Romans, afterwards by the Anglo Saxons, and last of all by the Normans—and on each of these occasions, the history of the times records numerous and most affecting instances of the desperate struggles of the vanquished for the preservation of their freedom and independence, and the heroic sacrifices and privations to which they voluntarily submitted, rather than bend their necks under the yoke of their heartless and ruthless conquerors. The case of Caractacus, the British prince, who was carried in chains to Rome under the Emperor Claudius, has been already referred to. A series of struggles of a similar kind characterized the

\* *Santa Anna. Times, April 5, 1853.*

era of the Anglo Saxon invasion in the fifth century; for the Saxons, from being friends and allies, soon became the bitterest enemies of the Britons. "At length," says the historian, "the last ties of amity were broken; the Saxons called in the Picts, against whom they had themselves been called in; and, by favour of this diversion, advanced into the interior of Britain, driving the British population before them, or forcing them to submission. The latter did not yield without great resistance: they once drove back the Saxons to the coast, and compelled them to re-embark; but the Saxons returned with increased numbers and aggravated fury, possessed themselves of many miles of country on the right bank of the Thames, and never afterwards quitted their conquest." And again, when speaking of the final retreat of the Britons into Wales: "This mountainous and unfruitful territory was the dwelling-place of the Cambrians: here they offered a safe though poor asylum to emigrants from every corner of Britain—to men, who, say the old historians, chose rather to lead a life of hard liberty than to inhabit a fine country under a foreign yoke."\* About five centuries later, the Anglo Saxons, who were then the people of England, had similar calamities to experience in their turn from their conquerors the Normans; the nobles and wealthier classes being almost uniformly stripped of their possessions, and the mass of the people being reduced to slavery. Many of the English of that period had to fly from their country, like the Poles and Hungarians of the present day, after being again and again defeated in battle; and so numerous were these English refugees even in Greece, that

\* *History of the Conquest of England by the Normans.* From the French of A. Thierry, vol. I. p. 18-26.



they actually formed a company in the army of the Greek Emperor at Constantinople. "Other chiefs and rich men, who could not, or would not, cross the sea, retired into the forests, with their clients and families. The great roads, along which the Norman convoys passed, were infested by their armed bands, and they took back from the conquerors by stratagem what the conquerors had taken by force; thus recovering the ransom of their inheritances, and avenging by assassination the massacre of their fellow-countrymen." "The north country especially, which had most obstinately resisted the invaders, became the land of vagrancy in arms, the last protection of the vanquished. The forests in the province of York were the haunt of a numerous band who had for their chief a (Saxon) prince. In the central parts, and near London, under the walls of the Norman castles, various bands were also formed of these men, who, say the old writers, rejecting slavery to the last, made the desert their asylum."\*

So strongly devoted were the Anglo Saxons, or the English people generally, of that period, to the cause of their national independence, that for more than a century and a half after the dismal era of the Norman Conquest, whenever any eminent man of the English race, who had distinguished himself, either in Church or State, in the cause of his oppressed fellow-countrymen, was at length judicially murdered, as was sure to be the case in every such instance, by their Norman butchers, "the native English bestowed on him, as on Waltheof, the titles of *holy* and *blessed*." They regarded him thenceforth as a Saint, and made pilgrimages to his tomb. "This was the lot of almost all men of any

\* *History of the Conquest of England by the Normans*, vol. II. p. 3-5.

eminence who had suffered for their resistance to the power founded upon the conquest." "The great idea of national independence was revealed to *them* as well as to us: they assembled around it whatever they could imagine as noblest and most brilliant: they made it religious as we make it poetical; they consecrated it by immortal life in a world of bliss, as we consecrate it by a more infallible immortality in the remembrance of future times and the consciences of upright men."\*

"I suppose," says a talented minister of religion, in a recent work of fiction, which, however, contains many lessons of truth—"I suppose it will be agreed, that if ever mankind do that which claims the name and rank of virtue, it is when they freely offer up their lives for their country, and for a cause which, whatever may be their misjudgment in the case, they believe to be the cause of liberty. Man is then greater in his disinterestedness, in the spirit with which he renounces himself, and offers his neck to the axe of the executioner, than he can be if clothed in any robe of honour, or sitting upon any throne of power."†

SECTION XIII.—AN OBJECTION URGED AND CONSIDERED—GREAT BRITAIN PLANTED THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES, AND HAS THEREFORE A RIGHT TO RULE THEM.

This was the notable argument of the celebrated Dr. Johnson, when working as a literary day-labourer for his Government pension, during the discreditable and disastrous struggle with the American Colonies. Forgetting that these colonies had, with the single exception of Georgia, been planted without assistance of any kind

\* *History of the Conquest of England by the Normans.* From the French of A. Thierry, vol. II. p. 93, 94.

† *Zenobia, or the Fall of Palmyra.* By the Rev. Wm. Ware.

from the parent state ; and perhaps wilfully forgetting also, that some of the most prominent among them had originated in the fierce intolerance and unnatural and atrocious persecution of the Government of the day, the courtly pensioner put forth the notable argument, in defence of the British taxation of America, that, "as Great Britain had nourished the calf, she had a right to milk the cow." But, to use another of the homely similes of the distinguished moralist, Great Britain soon found to her cost that "it was the bull she was attempting to milk" all the while ; for he soon kicked her over, pails and all ; a mishap which cost her at least a hundred and fifty millions sterling, besides broken bones and loss of character.\*

But it must be borne in mind that Great Britain planted the Colonies of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, which eventually proved the seedplot for all the rest, for her own purposes exclusively,—for her own convenience,—and probably without even the slightest intention of permanently benefiting these colonies in any way.

"From the foundation of the penal colonies," observes Sir William Molesworth, in his speech on Transportation in the House of Commons, delivered on the 5th May, 1840, "to the year 1836, the total expenditure of this country on account of these colonies has exceeded eight millions. During that period 98,000 convicts have been transported. Their punishment has, therefore, cost at least £81 apiece up to 1836."

\* At the commencement of the War of Independence in America the national debt of Great Britain amounted to £128,500,000. On the 5th of January, 1786, when the arrears of the War of Independence had all been paid, it amounted to £268,130,000, notwithstanding the extraordinary efforts and exertions of the war period, over and above the national loss indicated by the amount of additional debt incurred.

But if these convicts had been confined in penitentiaries at home,—at Millbank, for instance,—they would have cost the country £15 per head more than that amount, besides subjecting it to the serious and intolerable annoyance of their continued presence in the land.\*

Besides, the convict origin of these colonies has entailed on their present inhabitants an enormous additional expenditure, for the maintenance of their police and judicial establishments, beyond what would have been required for these services, had they been originally free settlements.† And from the utter want of common

\* “The average expense of each convict kept in the convict hulks in England for a period of four years would not be less than £30; if kept in a house of correction, such as those of Wakefield or Coldbath Fields, would not be less than £55 or £56; and if kept in a penitentiary, similar to that of Millbank, would not be less than £96.—*Lord John Russell's Letter to the Prime Minister*, quoted by Sir W. Molesworth, *Speech*, p. 59.

Sir William observes, however, in reference to this estimate, “The last and cheapest would be the hulks, the expense of which is much under-estimated by the noble lord at £30 a convict.

† “In addition to this sum,” adds Sir William, when stating the amount of the convict expenditure of the year 1836-7, “the colonial expenditure on account of the administration of justice, gaols, and police, was £90,000 a year, an enormous amount, as it is *nine times as great in proportion to population as that of the United Kingdom for similar purposes*. The greater portion of this expenditure evidently belongs to transportation.”

The extent to which the colony of New South Wales has suffered from the effects of the Transportation System will appear from the following Resolutions, moved by the late Joseph Phelps Robinson, Esq., when Member of Council for Melbourne, in the Legislative Council of New South Wales, during the session of 1844.

“That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, setting forth that according to the Estimates for 1845, laid before the Council, it will be requisite to raise, from the general revenue and municipal assessments, the sum of £96,741 7s. 6d. for police, gaols,

sense, and often even of common honesty, in the carrying out of the penal system of these colonies from the first, the vast expenditure of British money which was incurred

building of gaols, &c., being in a ratio of 12*s.* per head on the population of the colony (165,541); whereas the whole expense of the Government of the Canadas does not exceed 7*s.* per head; and were a ratio similar to that existing in New South Wales necessary for the United Kingdom, a sum not less than £16,300,000 would be required for these purposes.

“That for the eight years, ending on the 31st December, 1843, a sum of £839,800 7*s.* 7*d.* was paid by the colony for those services.

“That the number of prisoners who have arrived free, or have been born in the colony, bear a proportion to those who have arrived as convicts, of 39 to 72; and that, as a matter of equity, instead of the colony being subjected to the payment of this enormous sum, it should not be called upon for more than £33,990 5*s.* 7*d.*, whilst the Home Government is justly chargeable with the balance of £62,751 1*s.* 11*d.*

“That of the amount of £839,800 7*s.* 7*d.* already paid by the colony, only £295,064 6*s.* 3*d.* is its fair proportion; and that the balance of £544,736 1*s.* 4*d.* is due to it by the Home Government.

“And that Her Majesty be therefore humbly requested to recommend to Parliament that the amount of £544,736 1*s.* 11*d.* being the due portion of the expense entailed by the presence of a convict population in the colony, be defrayed by the Home Government. Or should Her Majesty deem it more desirable, upon taking into her gracious consideration the fact that 59,788 convicts were transported to the colony, and also the present exigencies of both countries, in the one of which upwards of 4,000,000 of its population are subsisting on private and public charities, and in the other, hundreds of cattle are daily destroyed for the mere hides and tallow; it would, in the opinion of this Council, be of equivalent advantage to this colony that the like number of 59,788 free emigrants be sent out at the expense of the Home Government within the next five years, and the colony, through the consumption of taxable commodities, be reimbursed in the sum annually due to it, amounting to £62,751 1*s.* 11*d.*, as hereinbefore expressed; which measure would likewise tend largely to increase the prosperity of the colony, and the exports of the United Kingdom.”

in the process proved but of very little permanent value to the colonies, while the natural progress of reformation among the convicts themselves was neutralized, and obstructed, and defeated by the very measures of the Local Government and its agents in every conceivable way. The debtor and creditor accounts between Great Britain and her Australian colonies will therefore exhibit but a very small balance against even the originally penal colonies, if any at all; as it is evident and unquestionable that, for all her outlay in the shape of convict expenditure, in connection with these colonies, Great Britain has received a substantial *quid pro quo*.

But Great Britain has also received an ample compensation for that outlay in another and much more valuable form—in the magnificent outlet she has thereby established for her redundant population; in the valuable and indefinitely extending market for her manufactured goods of all kinds which she has thus created, and in the boundless field she has opened up for the production of the raw material required for her manufactures, and for the employment of her home population. Assuredly, Great Britain has never expended any money for which she will receive an ampler return than she has already received, and will still continue to receive, for all time coming, from the expenditure she incurred in the establishment of the Australian Colonies.\* Independently of the market for goods of all kinds which these colonies afford to the mother-country, to an extent

\* In parting with a portion of our capital for the foundation of colonies, we are, in effect, placing it out at interest. Applied to a new and fertile soil, it produces far more than it could produce at home; and the benefit of that superior productiveness is felt by us in an increased supply of useful commodities, for which we are able to give the produce of our own industry in exchange on favourable terms, from the strength of the demand. *Merivale*, i. 228.

unequaled in any other country of the same population in the world, Great Britain actually received from the Colony of New South Wales alone, during the first ten years from the introduction of the present system of selling the waste lands, of the colony, and devoting a large portion of the proceeds for the promotion of emigration, the sum of a million sterling; the whole of which was expended in relieving the mother-country of a serious public burden by paying for the conveyance of poor persons from Great Britain and Ireland to New South Wales. And since the erection of the District of Port Phillip into the Province of Victoria, on the first of July, 1851, the amount which Great Britain has already received in the same way from that colony has been considerably greater.

But even, although Great Britain had never received any pecuniary or other compensation for the expenditure she incurred in the establishment of the Australian Colonies, this would in no way have affected the right of these colonies to their entire freedom and independence, on the attainment of their political majority. The slave has an *absolute* right to his freedom, whether his master has cleared his purchase-money by him or not. The son, who has completed the twenty-first year of his age, has an *absolute* right to entire freedom from parental controul, whatever his father may have expended on his board and education. It is the law of nature and the ordinance of God, that the parent should provide for the child during his non-age, without entering him in his ledger as a debtor for the expense of his upbringing. If the parent has discharged his duty in the case, the child will delight to repay the obligation in whatever way he can. *He will honour his father and mother*, from the instinctive feeling of filial affection, as well as *that his days may be long in the land which the*

*Lord his God shall give him*; and so far from this feeling being extinguished by the mere fact of his being legally free from all parental controul, it will still grow with his growth and strengthen with his strength, till, in the course of nature, he is called to deposit the remains of his venerated parent with sorrow in the grave.

SECTION XIV.—ANOTHER OBJECTION STARTED AND CONSIDERED—  
THE COLONIES ARE CLAIMING THEIR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE, BECAUSE THEY HATE THEIR MOTHER-COUNTRY, WHICH HAS DONE SO MUCH FOR THEM, AND HER MAJESTY, THE QUEEN, TO WHOM THEY OWE ALL DUE ALLEGIANCE, AND BECAUSE THEY ARE CHERISHING IN THEIR HEARTS THE SATANIC SPIRIT OF REBELLION.

Now, as British Colonists, we, the inhabitants of the Australian Colonies, who are earnestly desiring our freedom and independence, repel this peculiarly offensive charge as being equally false and unfounded. From our inmost hearts, we can say, and we do say, with the poet:—

England, with all thy faults, we love thee still!

And we are conscious of no other feeling towards Her Majesty the Queen,—that pattern of every domestic, every royal virtue,—but that of unfeigned respect and reverential admiration. But what has all this to do with the *previous* question, as to whether we, as British Colonists who have attained our political majority, have, or have not, an inherent and indefeasible right, under the law of nature and the ordinance of God, to our entire freedom and independence? We are entitled to have this question considered and answered first; for personal rights have a much higher claim in the eye of the law than mere conventional rights and reasons of state policy. We insist then that we *have* such a right—and *that* is the question.



Besides, is the son who has received his education and learned his business,—both perhaps under his father's roof,—but who sees a fair prospect of establishing himself in the world, and of rearing and supporting a family of his own, and who has accordingly fixed his affections on some suitable helpmeet, and planned out an establishment for himself,—is such a son supposed to hate his father because he is endeavouring to do the best he can for himself; and is the future intercourse (or rather no intercourse whatever) which is to subsist between them to be characterized by angry criminations and recriminations, by acts of mutual and unnatural hostility? On the contrary, when the dutiful son leaves the parental roof, to take up this new and more important position in the world, he will leave it with the tear of heartfelt affection in his eye, he will leave it with his father's blessing and his mother's prayers.

And such, in the ordinary course of nature, are precisely the feelings that would subsist between a mother-country and her colonies, if no acts of human folly and madness were allowed to intervene, even although the latter were asserting their natural, inherent, and infeasible right to entire freedom and independence, on the attainment of their political majority.

And as to the charge of our violating or renouncing our allegiance to Her Majesty the Queen, in claiming, as we do, our entire freedom and independence, I repeat it, there is a *previous question* to be put and answered, ere this knotty point can be determined, ere this offensive charge can be substantiated—I mean the question as to whether we, as British colonists who have attained our political majority, have, or have not, a right to our entire freedom and independence. For if we have such a right, as I have shown we have, the right of Her Majesty the Queen to reign over us necessarily ceases

and determines. Under the universal government of God, there cannot possibly be two inconsistent and incompatible rights; and the right to obedience or allegiance on the one part, is clearly inconsistent and incompatible with the right to freedom and independence on the other. It is precisely where and when the one of these rights ends, that the other begins: they cannot possibly occupy the same place, or extend to the same persons. The alleged right of a sovereign to reign over a people who, by the law of nature and the ordinance of God, have a right to their freedom and independence, and who claim that freedom and independence accordingly, is a mere imaginary right, and has no existence in reality. In plain English, it is downright usurpation, and its exercise is tyranny and oppression.

If, therefore, British colonists who claim their freedom and independence because they have attained their political majority, are accused of violating or renouncing their allegiance to the best of queens, they can, with perfect justice, retort—not against Her Majesty individually (God forbid that I should use such language towards Her Majesty personally!), but simply as the imaginary political impersonation of the State—by representing her as “a selfish, heartless, unnatural, cruel mother, who hates to see her own children doing well and establishing themselves in the world; who considers only her own selfish ends in all her dealings with them, and who is doing her very utmost to keep them down.” And is it either right or safe, I would ask, to allow Her Majesty, as the Sovereign of the British empire, to acquire such a character as this, in the estimation of the most valuable, although hitherto but little esteemed, class of her subjects, the British colonists? I think not. Let us hear no more then of this pitiful, this contemptible charge, about our violating or renouncing

our allegiance. The question is, Do we owe such allegiance, in the sense in which the term is used in the charge, as implying that we have no rights in the case? To which I unhesitatingly answer, No.

SECTION XV.—A THIRD OBJECTION STATED AND CONSIDERED.—THE BRITISH COLONIES ARE PART AND PARCEL OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE—AN EMPIRE ON WHICH THE SUN NEVER SETS, AND WHICH, FAR MORE THAN ANY EVEN OF THE SO-CALLED UNIVERSAL EMPIRES OF ANTIQUITY, EXTENDS ITS SCEPTRE TO ALL THE FOUR QUARTERS OF THE GLOBE—TO EVERY CONTINENT, WITHOUT EXCEPTION, AND TO ALMOST EVERY ISLE: IT MUST BE GLORIOUS, THEREFORE, TO BELONG TO SUCH AN EMPIRE: IT CANNOT BUT BE MONSTROUS, UNNATURAL, SUICIDAL AND HIGHLY CRIMINAL TO ATTEMPT TO DISMEMBER IT.

There can be no question as to the enormous extent of the British empire, and the colossal character of its power. Girdling the earth, as it does, in every zone, and covering the sea, it is as like a universal empire as possible, *and therefore the more likely to be dismembered, as it is called, very shortly.* For Divine Providence has, for the last thirteen hundred and fifty years, that is, ever since the Roman empire, or fourth universal monarchy, fell, set its face against the establishment of anything like another universal empire or fifth monarchy upon earth; consequently, the more extensive any empire becomes, and the more closely it approaches to universality, we have every reason to believe that it is only the nearer its fall or dismemberment. It is instructive to glance at the past history of the world in connection with this point; as in comparing the present with the past, we may be enabled, with some degree of confidence, to anticipate the future.

The first attempt to establish a universal empire or fifth monarchy upon earth, since the fall of the Roman

empire in the West, was made by the Saracens; who, succeeding to a portion at least of the noble inheritance of Rome in the East and West, speedily overran both Asia and Africa, but were finally checked at their entrance into Europe by Charles Martel in the south of France. The Turks, who in later times succeeded the Saracens in their Eastern dominion, also received their final check, when apparently on the highway to universal empire in the West, from John Sobieski, king of Poland, under the walls of Vienna. As to similar attempts among Christian nations, Charlemagne endeavoured, with no small degree of success for a time, to reunite the scattered fragments of the Roman empire in the West; but the mushroom dominion of that great potentate soon fell to pieces again under the government of his sons. At the era of the Reformation Charles the Fifth made a similar attempt with precisely similar results: and so did Louis the Fourteenth at a later period; and so also, in our own times, did the renowned Napoleon.

There are two periods in British history very remarkable in relation to this law of Divine Providence. In the year 1756, the famous battle of Plassy gave England the presidency of Bengal and the future empire of India. But as if this was not sufficient, the battle of Quebec, in the year 1759, when the gallant Wolfe fell in the arms of victory on the heights of Abraham, gave England the whole of the French empire in North America, as was afterwards solemnly and definitively determined by the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Never had the British empire been so extensive as at that period; never was its power so resistless; and never was there a fairer prospect of its dominion becoming all but universal.\* But Divine Pro-

\* Her possessions in North America, extending from the Mississippi to the great St. Lawrence, and from the ocean to the Alle-

vidence had determined many ages before that no other universal monarchy should be established on earth ; and, as if in fulfilment of this decree, a spirit of infatuation was sent forth into the counsels of George the Third ; a series of arbitrary and oppressive measures was enacted by the Imperial Parliament in reference to the American colonies ; and thirteen noble provinces were at length wrested from the British empire, just as ten of the tribes of Israel had been from the family of David, in remarkably similar circumstances, on a question of iniquitous taxation.\*

Now it appears to me that we are approaching a somewhat similar crisis in the history of the British empire at the present moment. For a long time past we have been adding province to province in India, till our empire in that country now comprises a hundred and fifty millions of people, about an eighth part of the whole human race ! We have also been adding province to province in Africa, and subjecting the country in the process, through the grossest mismanagement on the part of our local rulers—half saints and half merry-andrews, as certain of them were—to all the horrors of an exterminating war. We have humbled China, and planted a colony, as we call it by courtesy, and a line

ghany Mountains, were enlarged at the Peace of Paris, by the acquisition of all Canada and Florida. Never did British authority seem more firmly established in these regions ; but events soon proved that it never was less so.—*Europe and its Colonies*, by Professor Heeren, p. 278.

\* THE KING HEARKENED NOT UNTO THE PEOPLE, FOR THE CAUSE WAS FROM THE LORD. \* \* \* *So when all Israel saw that the king hearkened not unto them, the people answered the king, saying, What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: to your tents, O Israel: now see to thine own house, David. So Israel departed unto their tents.—*1 Kings, xii. 15, 16.

of posts, on her frontier. We have annexed New Zealand to our Australasian dominion; and we are threatening to annex Borneo, in addition to Aden, Singapore, and Labuan, to our empire in the East; and certain political enthusiasts in the colonies are actually promising us the whole multitude of the isles of the vast Pacific. In short, never was the British empire more extensive than it is at present; never was its power more formidable, in every land and on every sea. The Press everywhere is telling us *usque ad nauseam* that the sun never sets upon it, and a certain idolatrous limner at the Great Exhibition, catching the vainglorious spirit of the age, actually represented the four quarters of the globe paying homage to Queen Victoria!

Now no man of the slightest discernment can be blind to these very significant signs of the times. Such national pride, accompanied as it is with such national dereliction of duty towards the poor in the land, for whom this vast colonial empire is held in trust, necessarily precedes a fall; for it cannot but be peculiarly offensive in the eyes of the Great Governor among the nations. We are evidently hastening to another great crisis in the history of our country. We are on the eve of another dismemberment; and I shall be greatly mistaken, if, in a very few years hence, both the eastern colonies of Australia and the British colonies of North America shall not have ceased to belong to the British empire. Which of the two great groups will go first, no man can tell; but it is certain, at all events, that they are both getting ready.

And why should they not? And why should a great nation like ours seek to prevent them? If it is the right of these groups of colonies, by the law of nature and the ordinance of God, to form two great nations,

instead of a series of miserable and miserably-governed dependencies, and to assume the prominent and highly influential position they are destined to occupy in that capacity on the face of the earth, why should Englishmen endeavour, in their folly and madness, either to prevent or to postpone "a consummation so devoutly to be wished?"\*

Besides, how can we—Britons and Protestants as we profess to be—how can we pretend to object to the claim of the Pope to govern the whole Christian Church, in all its numerous, diversified, and widely scattered settlements—*on which the Sun never sets*; when we ourselves actually set up a sort of political Pope in Downing-street, and empower him to govern the whole

\* Prejudices and prepossessions are stubborn things in all cases: but in none, more peculiarly obstinate, than in relinquishing detached parts of an unwieldy extended empire; there not being, I believe, a single instance in all history of any nation surrendering a distant province voluntarily, and of free choice, notwithstanding it was greatly their interest to have done it. The English, in particular, have given remarkable proofs of their unwillingness. For though it was undeniably their interest to have abandoned all the provinces which they held in France, yet they never gave up one of them till they were compelled to it by force of arms. Now, indeed, and at this distance of time, we see clearly that our forefathers were wretched politicians in endeavouring to retain any one of the French provinces, which, if it was a little one, would be a continual drain, and perhaps an increasing expense; and if it was a great one, might grow up to be a rival, and become the seat of empire. I say, we can see these things clearly enough at present: yet, alas! what advantages do we derive from the discovery? And what application do we make of such historical mementos to the business of the present day? The remotest of our provinces in France were hardly 300 miles distant from our own coasts: the nearest of those in America are about 3000.—"*Humble Address and earnest Appeal*' in favour of Separation from America, by Josiah Tucker, D.D., Dean of Gloucester, p. 70. Gloucester, 1775.

Colonial Empire of Britain, in all its numerous and endlessly diversified and widely scattered settlements—*on which also the sun never sets?* Reasoning upon Protestant principles, and without reference to points of doctrine, the pretended right to govern is in both cases sheer usurpation—a mere trampling under foot of the sacred and inherent rights of men. In both cases, also, that pretended right is based upon the same blasphemous assumption—an assumption of two of the incommunicable attributes of the Godhead—Omniscience and Infallibility! For example,—“the Pope knows everything throughout the Christian Church, as well as everything that is needful for it; and therefore he can never go wrong in governing it”—this is Popery in Religion. “Earl Grey, or the Secretary of State for the Colonies for the time being, knows everything throughout the Colonial Empire of Britain, as well as everything that is needful for it; and therefore he can never go wrong in governing it”—this is Popery in Politics: the first cause or moving spring of the two enormities being also precisely the same—an unhallowed lust of empire, on the part of the two bodies which the Pope and the colonial autocrat respectively represent, contrary alike to the ordinance of God and the rights of men.

It is not Cardinal Wiseman, therefore, but Earl Grey, or the Secretary of State for the Colonies for the time being, that ought to be tricked out in the harlequin attire of a red hat and scarlet hose, with this blasphemous inscription on his forehead, **INFALLIBILITY GREY!**\* What possible harm can the envoy of the

\* Earl Grey was in office when these paragraphs were written, —for the *first* edition of this work. They certainly apply to his Lordship more strongly than to either of his successors; but the principle involved is still the same, whoever may happen to be the tenant of office.



Pope do to the rights and liberties of Britons, either at home or abroad, if they are only true to themselves? But here is a really formidable power—formidable, I mean, to the rights and liberties of Britons, both at home and abroad—here, I say, is a really formidable power, this Political Popery, or Popery in Politics; existing only,—as it has done for two centuries past in one form or other—to hurt and to destroy.\*

As to the glory of belonging to such an empire as that of Britain, "I am of opinion," says Mr. Wakefield, in the language of a supposed speaker whose sentiments he adopts, "that the extent and glory of an empire are solid advantages for all its inhabitants, *and especially those who inhabit its centre.* I think that whatever the possession of our colonies may cost us in money, the possession is worth more in money than its money cost, and infinitely more in other respects. For by overawing foreign nations and impressing mankind with a *prestige* of our might, it enables us to keep the peace of the world, which we have no interest in disturbing, as it would enable us to disturb the world if we pleased. The advantage is, that the possession of this immense empire by England causes the mere name of England to be a real and mighty power; the greatest power that now exists in the world."†

I admit that for those who are at "the centre" of the national system, where all its life and heat are concentrated, it may be very pleasant and self-satisfying to look around on their vast domain of colonies of all sorts, of plantations, possessions, and dependencies, and to say, with Robinson Crusoe,

"We are monarchs of all we survey;"

\* I mean no offence to Roman Catholics in these remarks. I am only reasoning with Protestants on their own principles, applied—as I have a right to apply them—to politics.

† *View of the Art of Colonization, &c.*, p. 98.

but the condition of those who are at the extremities of the system may, from that very circumstance, be supremely uncomfortable; and whether the latter are to surrender their natural and inherent rights, merely to gratify the vanity, or to minister to the self-importance of those who are at the centre of the system, is a question which, I conceive, admits but of one answer. It so completely sets aside the golden rule of doing to others as we should wish to be done by, that one can scarcely help feeling ashamed at hearing of such a proposition from any person calling himself an Englishman. Is it either just or right—for that is the question—that the best and dearest interests of any people should be compromised and sacrificed; that their social progress should be impeded and retarded in an endless variety of ways; that they should be refused their proper position among the nations, and degraded to a condition of pitiable and humiliating subserviency—in order to minister to the gratification of this mean contemptible vanity on the part of another people at the ends of the earth? For what, I ask, are the British people better than we—the British colonists of Australia—except that they are fifty to one of us? But does this give them any right, by the law of nature or the ordinance of God, to govern us? Does this mere numerical superiority demonstrate that they are

Born to command ten thousand slaves, like us, the insignificant dwellers in Australia?

“Dependence upon a distant government,” says an able writer in the *Edinburgh Review* for July 1853, in an article on Earl Grey’s Colonial Administration, “Dependence upon a distant government seems to us a great, an unceasing, and an inevitable evil. It may, in a certain state of a given community, be outweighed or compensated by counter advantages;

but a dependency must, from the necessity of the case, be to a certain extent ill-governed. The evils of political parties (provided their dissensions do not end in despotism or civil war) are, in our judgment, trifling indeed, as compared with the evils of dependence on the decision of persons living at a distance of thousands of miles, belonging to a different political community, and imperfectly informed as to the state and circumstances of the dependency."

Again, to talk of England keeping the peace of the world, while she has eight hundred millions of debt of her own, incurred through her generally unjust and unnecessary wars, is amusing enough; but it can surely be no reason why British colonists, who have a natural and inherent right to nationality, should be forced to continue in the very subordinate and unsatisfactory condition of mere dependents and vassals. *If thou mayest be made free*, says the apostle Paul (and the advice applies to communities as well as to individuals), *use it rather*.\*

It would be considered supremely ridiculous, as well as exceedingly heartless and unfeeling, for a cotton-planter in South Carolina, on learning that his "niggers" were anxious for their freedom, to tell them that "he considered them very unreasonable creatures indeed; that the ownership of so many of them gave *him* a standing and influence in society, an importance in the country, which he could not otherwise possess; that he had three votes for a Congress-man for every five of them, and that in such circumstances it was very ungrateful in them to seek to lessen *his* consequence in the world by desiring their freedom." It is equally ridiculous, however, and equally unfeeling and insulting to British colonists, to tell them that it is necessary for

\* 1 *Corinth.* vii. 21.

England, in order to maintain her dignity and importance in the world, to retain in miserable and humiliating vassalage those to whom God has not only given the desire of freedom and the right to assert it, but the means and ability to use it for their own welfare and advancement. There is much sympathy professed by men of all ranks and classes throughout the United Kingdom for the unhappy condition of the American slave; but if it is true that "the man who hates his brother is a murderer" at heart, then I maintain that the man, of whatever rank or influence in society, who uses his influence to prevent those British colonists that have attained their political majority, from obtaining their freedom and independence, merely because he imagines that the honour and glory of England would thereby be somewhat impaired, is a slave-holder at heart; and when he tells me, in the mawkish language of the day, that "his heart bleeds for the slave," I tell him in the plainest English in reply, that "he is a hypocrite and a liar:" for if he has no sympathy for his colonial brother whom he *has* seen, how can he sympathise with the poor African slave whom he has never seen?

SECTION XVI.—A FOURTH OBJECTION URGED AND WEIGHED—THE SEPARATION OF THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES, AS AN INTEGRAL PORTION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, WOULD BE A PRODIGIOUS LOSS TO THE MOTHER-COUNTRY, IN HER MATERIAL INTERESTS, AS WELL AS TO THE COLONISTS THEMSELVES.

Notwithstanding the confident assertions that are sometimes put forth, although without the least shadow of proof, in respectable quarters—as for instance, by Mr. Gilbert Wakefield and Earl Grey—as to the value of Colonies to the Mother-country, in the sense of dependencies, or places to be governed from home, I deny that England has anything to lose from the freedom

and independence of her Australian Colonies, and I maintain that she has everything to gain. Mr. Wakefield's *prestige* is merely another name for *shadow*: it has no substance in it, no real value. And although Earl Grey, in his recent elaborate but unsuccessful apology for his own maladministration of the colonies, ostentatiously expresses his opinion that "the British Colonial Empire ought to be maintained, because much of the power and influence of Great Britain depends upon her having large colonial possessions in different parts of the world,"\* as if that were anything to us, the question is simply—What solid advantages does England really derive from her possession of such dependencies as the Australian colonies? In answer to this question, Mr. Lewis, in his able and singularly honest work, on *the Government of Dependencies*, enumerates the advantages which a parent state or dominant country derives from its supremacy over a dependency as follows, viz. :—

1. *Tribute, or revenue paid by the dependency.*—This, it is well known, was the system in universal practice among the ancients in the government of their dependent provinces; † but the attempt to enforce it in America led to the War of Independence in that country, and the claim was at length formally renounced by the 18 Geo. III. cap. 12. ‡

\* *The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration.* By Earl Grey. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1853.

† *What thinkest thou, Simon? Of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute? Of their own children, or of strangers? Peter saith unto him, of strangers. Matthew xvii. 25, 26.*

‡ According to the present feelings and opinions of men, no direct benefit, by way of tribute or payment of any sort, can be derived by England from her colonies.—*The Colonies of England,* by John Arthur Roebuck, M. P. London, 1849, p. 11.

2. *Assistance for military or naval purposes.*—Such assistance was very frequently rendered by the earlier colonists of America, in the wars of the Mother-country with France, which had then an extensive empire in that country; but no such assistance could either be expected or would be necessary now. It is worthy of remark that the celebrated Dr. Adam Smith considered the contribution of revenue and military force as so essential to the very idea of a colony that he regarded any dependency utterly valueless that did not contribute either the one or the other. His words are as follows:—

“Countries which contribute neither revenue nor military force towards the support of the empire cannot be considered as provinces. They may perhaps be considered as appendages, as a sort of splendid and showy equipage of the empire.”\*

3. *Advantages to the dominant country from its trade with the dependency.*—Since the commencement of the present Free Trade system, no special advantage can be derived by the Mother-country from this source.

4. *Facilities afforded by dependencies to the dominant country for the emigration of its surplus population, and for an advantageous employment of its capital.*—Mr. Lewis admits, however, that in order to secure this advantage to the Mother-country, it is not necessary that the colony should be a dependency of the parent state; of which abundant proof will be given in the sequel.

5. *Facilities for the transportation of convicts to a dependency.*—These facilities, however, are now at an end in all the Australian colonies of the Eastern groupe.

6. *The glory of possessing dependencies.*—This, therefore, is the only real advantage, if it is one, that remains. On this point, however, Mr. Lewis very judi-

\* *Wealth of Nations*, b. v. c. 3.

ciously observes, that "a nation derives no true glory from any possession which produces no assignable advantage to itself or to other communities. If a country possesses a dependency from which it derives no public revenue, no military or naval strength, and no commercial advantages or facilities for emigration which it would not equally enjoy though the dependency were independent, and if, moreover, *the dependency suffers the evils which are the almost inevitable consequences of its political condition*, such a possession cannot justly be called glorious."\*

"The honour of a nation," says the distinguished American moralist, Dr. Channing, to the same effect,— "The honour of a nation consists, *not in the forced and reluctant submission of other States*, but in equal laws and free institutions, in cultivated fields and prosperous cities, in the development of intellectual and moral power, in the diffusion of knowledge, in magnanimity and justice, in the virtues and blessings of peace."†

Mr. Lewis also enumerates the advantages derivable by a dependency from its dependence on the dominant country under the following heads, viz. :—

1. *Protection by the dominant country.*—This I shall show in the sequel is quite unnecessary in the case of the Australian colonies.

2. *Pecuniary assistance by the dominant country.*—Nothing of this kind is required in the Australian colonies.

3. *Commercial advantages.*—But these have all been done away with under the Free Trade system.

There is therefore not one substantial advantage, derivable either by the Mother-country on the one hand, or by the Australian colonies on the other, from the

\* *Lewis on the Government of Dependencies*, p. 240.

† *Channing's Essay on War*.

continuance of the present connection of domination and dependency. The only advantage remaining to the Mother-country is a merely imaginary one—the glory of the thing; which, Mr. Lewis admits, is utterly valueless, and which is surely not to be considered for one moment as an adequate compensation for the loss which the Mother-country herself sustains, as well as for the unspeakable evil which is entailed on the colonies, by the continuance of their bondage.

The doctrine that a Mother-country, and particularly Great Britain, derives no real benefit from the government of distant and full-grown colonies, has obtained the cordial and unqualified support of the most distinguished writers of the age, both British and foreign. And it is one of the gratifying signs of the times, that the true relation of a colony to its Mother-country is thus at length understood and appreciated in the most influential quarters, both at home and abroad.

“Is it a secret to you,” asks the celebrated Jeremy Bentham, in his famous address to the French Convention of 1793, recommending them to emancipate their colonies, “Is it a secret to you any more than ourselves, that our colonies cost us much, that they yield us nothing—that our government makes us pay them for suffering it to govern them—and that all the use or purpose of this compact is to make places, and wars that breed more places?”\*

“With respect to Canada,” observes the late Sir Henry Parnell,—“With respect to Canada (including our other possessions on the continent of North America) no case can be made out to show that we should not have *every commercial advantage* we are supposed now to have, if it were made *an independent state*. Neither our manufactures, foreign commerce, nor shipping, would

\* *Emancipate your Colonies.* Jeremy Bentham.



be injured by such a measure. On the other hand, what has the nation lost by Canada? Fifty or sixty millions have already been expended: the annual charge on the British Treasury is now full £600,000 a year; and we learn from the Second Report of the Committee of Finance, that a plan of fortifying Canada has been for two or three years in progress, which is to cost £3,000,000.\*

“The total charge on our revenue,” says Mr. Merivale, “on account of the military, naval and civil establishments of the colonies, amounted to £2,360,000 in 1835.”

And again:—

“By the war of 1739,” said Lord Sheffield, “which may be truly called an American contest, we incurred a debt of upwards of £31,000,000; by the war of 1755, we incurred a further debt of £71,500,000; and by the war of the revolt we have added to both these debts nearly £100,000,000 more. And thus we have expended a far larger sum in defending and retaining our colonies than the value of all the merchandise we have ever sent them.”†

“A country,” says McCulloch, “which founds a colony on the liberal principle of allowing it to trade freely with all the world, necessarily possesses considerable advantages in its markets from identity of language, religion, customs, &c. These are natural and legitimate sources of preference of which it cannot be deprived; and these, combined with equal or greater cheapness of the products suitable for the colonial markets, will give its merchants the complete command of them.”‡

\* *Financial Reform*. By the late Sir Henry Parnell, M.P. for Dundee.

† *Merivale*, vol. I. p. 237.

‡ *McCulloch's Statistical Account of the British Empire*, vol. I. p. 595.

“Under the present system of management,” observes the celebrated Dr. Adam Smith, “Great Britain derives nothing but loss from the dominion which she assumes over her colonies.

“To propose that Great Britain should voluntarily give up all authority over her colonies, and leave them to elect their own magistrates, to enact their own laws, and to make peace and war as they might think proper, would be to propose such a measure as never was, and never will be adopted, by any nation in the world. No nation ever voluntarily gave up the dominion of any province, how troublesome soever it might be to govern it, and how small soever the revenue which it afforded might be in proportion to the expense which it occasioned. Such sacrifices, though they might frequently be agreeable to the interest, are always mortifying to the pride of every nation. \* \* \* The most visionary enthusiast would scarce be capable of proposing such a measure, with any serious hopes at least of its ever being adopted. If it was adopted, however, Great Britain would not only be immediately freed from the whole annual expense of the peace establishment of the colonies, but *might settle with them such a treaty of commerce as would effectually secure her a free trade*, more advantageous to the great body of the people, though less so to the merchants, than the monopoly which she at present enjoys. By thus parting good friends, the natural affection of the colonies to the Mother-country, which, perhaps, our late dissensions have well nigh extinguished, would quickly revive. It might dispose them not only to respect, for whole centuries together, that treaty of commerce which they had concluded with us at parting, but to favour us in war as well as in trade, and, instead of turbulent and factious subjects, to become our most faithful, affec-

tionate, and generous allies; and the same sort of parental affection on the one side, and filial respect on the other, might revive between Great Britain and her colonies, which used to subsist between the colonies of ancient Greece and the Mother-city from which they descended.”\*

But the world has been making great advances since the days of Adam Smith; for the following generous and enlightened sentiment has appeared lately, in an article on Australia, in the leading journal of Europe:—

“The people of England have long ago renounced any wish to retain by force of arms remote settlements, inhabited by people of our own race, in unwilling and compulsory subjection. Henceforth the bond of union which unites Britain to her colonies must be free.”†

“Before the American Revolution,” observes Mr. Merivale, “we possessed colonies even more extensive and valuable than at present. Yet the trade with those colonies, though a thriving one, never seems to have been in a wholly satisfactory state. And during the latter years of the connection, mutual jealousies and antipathies, more powerful even than self-interest, nearly reduced it to ruin. As soon as the connection was severed, what was the consequence? Was our profitable colonial trade turned into a losing foreign trade? All the world knows, on the contrary, that the commerce between the Mother-country and the colony was but a peddling traffic, compared with that vast international intercourse, the greatest the world has ever known, which grew up between them when they had exchanged the tie of subjection for that of equality.”

“No one now really doubts that the separation of our North American colonies has been, in an economical

\* *Wealth of Nations*, vol. iii. c. 7.

† *Times*, July 30, 1852.

sense, advantageous to us. And yet precisely the same arguments are current at this very day, respecting the superior profit of colonial commerce, and the wealth arising from colonial domination, which were in every one's mouth before that great event had occurred, and by its results confounded all such calculations. So easily does our reason contrive to forget the strongest lessons, or to evade their force, when prejudice and love of power warp it in the contrary direction.\*

"England," observes Professor Gervinus, "was no more weakened by the loss of her colonies (as France had intended,) than she was by the closing of the Continent under Napoleon; on the contrary, the full development of her internal strength and her judicious administration, only then began to display itself. That to which she chiefly owed the greatness of her commerce, and the power it communicated to her government, the active energy of the people, no war could vanquish, but on the contrary, was strengthened by the freedom of the State and of the trade with North America. In these results a sentence of condemnation was pronounced on the old colonial system."

And again:—"Great as England has become by her colonies, she has never received from them an accession of power, since they have been more expense than profit to her, and their occupation by the military has weakened rather than strengthened the Mother-country.†

To the same effect, an able writer in a late number of the *Edinburgh Review*, well observes:—"The power of England may be attributed by foreign states to a false cause, and may be thought to be owing to the possession of colonies, when it is, in fact, owing to the industry and energy of our native population. But if

\* *Merivale*, vol. i. p. 230.

† *Gervinus. Introd. to Hist. of 19th Cent.*

foreign nations found that the subtraction of a colony did not, in fact, diminish the power of England, they would not treat her with less respect. The independence of the American colonies furnishes an apt illustration; for although the continental nations believed that this change had struck a deadly blow at England, they soon forgot their false theory, when they observed the inexhaustible resources which she displayed during the French war, notwithstanding the loss of her barren American sovereignty.”\*

But the benefit resulting from the entire political separation of the Mother-country and her colonies, in the case of America, was not entirely on the side of Britain. “In a state of dependence,” observes a writer who undoubtedly contributed greatly to this consummation, —“In a state of dependence, and with a fettered commerce, though with all the advantages of peace, her [America’s] trade could not balance itself, and she annually ran into debt. But now in a state of independence, though involved in war, she requires no credit; her stores are full of merchandise, and gold and silver are become the currency of the country.”†

There are still, indeed, individuals, both in our own and in other Mother-countries of Europe, who cling to the old fallacy of empire, and regard either the actual or the possible loss of dominion over distant colonies as an event in the highest degree to be deprecated and deplored. And it is singular enough that one should have to include among such persons—the adherents of an exploded system—so eminent a writer as Mr. Carlyle. But while that distinguished writer, like the celebrated

\* *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1853. Article on *Earl Grey’s Colonial Administration.*

† *Letter to the Abbé Raynal on the affairs of North America.* By Thomas Paine, M. A. Philadelphia, 1782, page 29.

Dr. Johnson, devoutly believes in the right of Great Britain to ride the colonies at her pleasure, and to use them for her own purposes exclusively, he admits that the public opinion, including even that of British Statesmen, is very much against him.

“Constitutions for the Colonies,” says Mr. Carlyle, “are now on the anvil; the discontented colonies are all to be cured of their miseries by Constitutions. Whether that will cure their miseries, or only operate as a Godfrey’s Cordial to stop their whimpering, and in the end worsen all their miseries, may be a sad doubt to us. One thing strikes a remote spectator in these Colonial questions; the singular placidity with which the British Statesman at this time, *backed by the British monied classes*, is prepared to surrender whatsoever interest Britain, as foundress of these establishments, might pretend to have in the decision.”\*

In like manner, the late M. de Chateaubriand, in his “Travels in North America,” laments over the loss of the French empire in that country with the most piteous ululations. But another Frenchman, of less brilliancy of genius indeed, but of far keener discernment in matters of every-day life, passes a very different judgment on that event, in regard to its real bearings on the material interests and social welfare of France.

“It is high time,” says M. Say, the eminent French political economist, who wrote much about the same period as M. de Chateaubriand, “to drop our absurd lamentations for the loss of our colonies, considered as a source of national prosperity. For, in the first place, France now enjoys a greater degree of prosperity than while she retained her colonies: witness the increase of her population. Before the Revolution, her revenues

\* T. Carlyle, *Latter Day Pamphlets*.

could maintain but twenty-five millions of people; they now (1819) support thirty millions. In the second place, the first principles of political economy will teach us, that *the loss of colonies by no means implies a loss of the trade with them.* With what did France buy colonial products before? With her own domestic products, to be sure. Has she not continued to buy them since in the same way, though sometimes of a neutral, or even of an enemy?"

And again :—

"The ancients, by their system of colonization, made themselves friends all over the known world; the moderns have sought to make subjects, and *therefore* have made enemies. Governors, deputed by the Mother-country, feel not the slightest interest in the diffusion of happiness and real wealth amongst a people, with whom they do not propose to spend their lives, to sink into privacy and retirement, or to conciliate popularity. They know their consideration in the Mother-country will depend upon the fortune they return with, not upon their behaviour in office. Add to this the large discretionary power, that must unavoidably be vested in the deputed rulers of distant possessions, and there will be every ingredient towards the composition of a *truly detestable government.*"\*

Many thanks, M. Say, for the correct definition you have thus given us of colonial government; for I have no hesitation in acknowledging it as the general result of my own observation and experience for more than thirty years past, that the British government of the Australian colonies has, in comparison with what the government of such communities ought to have been in the present age of free institutions and general enlighten-

\* M. Say, *Political Economy.* Paris, 1820.

ment, been, during the whole of that period, "detestable government"—suicidal for Great Britain herself as a great manufacturing and commercial country, with a redundant but peculiarly energetic population, and ruinous for the best interests of the colonies, both morally and materially, in an endless variety of ways.

Besides all the great names in the literature, both of our own and of foreign countries, are decidedly in favour of the entire freedom and independence of colonies as the best possible condition both for the Mother country and for the dependency. I have already enumerated Grotius, Heeren, Milton, Franklin, Dr. Adam Smith, Mr. Lewis, Professor Gervinus, M. Say, and Jeremy Bentham. I may add Turgot, Talleyrand, Storch, Chardozo, Dr. Thomas Cooper, of America, Malthus, Brougham, Huskisson, Baring, Ricardo, Torrens, Senior, and last, but not least, the eminent political writer, Mr. James Mill. These distinguished men are unanimously of opinion that dominion over colonies is of no real use to a Mother-country in increasing her commercial prosperity, and that its actual and never-failing tendency is to produce or to perpetuate bad government for the colonies.

"A word of recapitulation," says Jeremy Bentham to the French Convention, in summing up his argument, which is equally applicable to the case of Great Britain and her Australian colonies, "and I have done—you will, I say, give up your colonies—because you have no right to govern them; because they had rather not be governed by you; because it is against their interest to be governed by you; because you get nothing by governing them; because you can't keep them; because the expense of trying to keep them would be ruinous; because your Constitution would suffer by your keeping them; because your principles forbid your keeping



them ; and because you would do good to all the world by parting with them."\*

It is difficult indeed to say which of the two parties, the Mother-country or the colonies, has suffered the most under the monstrous system that has hitherto characterized the government of the Colonies of Great Britain—that system which for two centuries and a half has sacrificed more or less all the legitimate objects of colonization for the gratification of an unhallowed lust of empire, unwarranted by the laws of God, and trampling under foot the rights of men.

SECTION XVII.—A FOURTH OBJECTION STATED AND CONSIDERED—

THE COLONISTS WHO ARE CALLING OUT FOR THEIR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE ARE A MERE PACK OF REPUBLICANS, AND ARE UNFIT TO GOVERN THEMSELVES.

After more than thirty years' experience in the Australian colonies, and especially after more than ten years' experience of the working even of imperfectly representative institutions in New South Wales, I have no hesitation in expressing it as my belief and conviction, that the very worst government which it is possible to suppose could ever emanate from popular election in these colonies, in the event of their attaining their freedom and independence, would be incomparably better than the very best we are ever likely to have under their connection with Great Britain. The celebrated Adam Smith informs us that the thirteen American colonies, containing at the time a population of nearly three millions, were not only governed, but well governed, previous to the War of Independence, for the incredibly small amount of £64,760 per annum, or at the rate of five-pence per head.† But the government of New

\* *Emancipate your Colonies.* Jeremy Bentham.

† The expense of their own civil government has always been very moderate. It has generally been confined to what was neces-

South Wales (including the district of Port Phillip), containing a population of not more than 265,503, on the 31st December, 1850, that is, at the termination of the year before the gold discoveries in Australia had intervened to revolutionize the whole state of society in both colonies—actually cost for that year £564,487 15s. 1d., or deducting £171,505 6s. 4d., expended for immigration, £392,982 8s. 9d.; or at the rate of £1 9s. 7d. per head!\* But colonial government, under the present system, is throughout a government of cor-

sary for paying competent salaries to the governor, to the judges, and to some other officers of police, and for maintaining a few of the most useful public works. The expense of the civil establishment of Massachusetts' Bay, before the commencement of the present disturbances, used to be about £18,000 a-year. That of New Hampshire and Rhode Island £3,500 each. That of Connecticut £4,000. That of New York and Pennsylvania £4,500 each. That of New Jersey £1,200. That of Virginia and South Carolina £8,000 each. The civil establishments of Nova Scotia and Georgia are partly supported by an annual grant of parliament. But Nova Scotia pays, besides, about £7,000 a-year towards the public expenses of the colony; and Georgia about £2,500 a-year. All the different civil establishments in North America, in short, exclusive of those of Maryland and North Carolina, of which no exact account has been got, did not, before the commencement of the present disturbances, cost the inhabitants above £64,760 a-year; an ever memorable example at how small an expense three millions of people may not only be governed, but well governed.—*Smith's Wealth of Nations*, vol. ii. p. 372.

\* I take the year before the gold discoveries as affording a fair criterion for Australia generally; because society is still in too chaotic a state, since that great event in the gold colonies, to afford a proper ground of comparison in a case like the present. The enormous cost of the civil government of the colony of Port Phillip, or Victoria, however, may be inferred from a recent proposal of the Executive of that colony, to borrow a million sterling to make up the deficit; the Revenue having fallen so much short of the Expenditure, although, for the year ending the 31st March, 1854, it had attained the enormous amount of £1,648,763 9s. 9d.!

ruption ; under which the people's money is abstracted from them by men who have no right to take it, and expended in great measure in the maintenance of unnecessary offices, or in the payment of extravagant salaries, while the general improvement of the country in an endless variety of ways is utterly neglected, and public works of urgent necessity, for the welfare and advancement of its people, are indefinitely postponed.

Nay, so utterly helpless are the colonists, for the redress of their own wrongs, under the wretched system of government that prevails in the colonies under Downing-street domination, that even Acts of Parliament that are passed for their better government are effectually *burked* by the political knaves and swindlers whom the system has created, that that system of misgovernment and corruption may be continued and promoted. For example, an Act of Parliament was passed in the year 1850 for the better government of the Australian colonies: reducing the previously high franchise to a Ten Pound rate, *but leaving the Electoral Districts to be arranged by the actual Council* ; of which, however, one-third of the members were Crown nominees, and so many of the others under the influence of the Government as to give it a decided majority. The Electoral Act was accordingly so framed as almost entirely to exclude the popular element from the new Council, and to give the corrupt Government a much more preponderating influence than it had before. For under this *infamous* act, as it was generally designated in New South Wales, every fifteen thousand of the citizens of Sydney, the capital of that colony, were allowed only the same political weight and influence in the new Legislature, as fifteen hundred in an Electoral District on the frontier, about seven hundred miles distant ! But the people of Sydney were in general

strongly imbued at the time with the spirit of freedom, and earnestly desirous of a thorough reform, while those of the frontier district were either tenants of the Crown or their servants; and it was therefore necessary, in order to depress the former, to elevate the latter! The Act of Parliament would have been a real benefit to the colony, if it had only been honestly carried out; but of what avail are even the best Acts of Parliament to the colonists, if they have not the means of carrying them out?

The Legislatures that were constituted for the colonies of New South Wales and Victoria, under this most iniquitous arrangement, in the year 1851, have recently been engaged in framing new constitutions for these colonies, as they were empowered to do by the Imperial Act. And the result of their labours, which has just been made public, is precisely what might have been expected from their own origin and character. A second Chamber or Upper House has been constituted for each colony; to consist, in New South Wales, of Crown nominees, first for five years and then for life, and in Victoria of persons having not less than Five Thousand Pounds of real property!\* The previous electoral system of New South Wales, although a gross outrage upon the common sense of the colonists, has been virtually retained; and a State provision for the support of religion has been established in both colonies, in direct opposition to the well-known views and wishes of a decided majority of the people. The present land system, a system of injustice and oppression, has been

\* The late President Polk, of the United States, had only about 25,000 dollars, about £5000 sterling, of private property, when he died! How could such a man have ever attained to so high a position under the thoroughly discreditable system of the mammon-worshippers of Port Phillip?

perpetuated; and ways and means have been taken, as far as mere parliamentary enactments can ensure such a result, to prevent any future change or reform of the Legislature. In short, the New Constitution for New South Wales is calculated and designed to ensure the domination and aggrandizement of a small minority of the colonists, and virtually sets both the people and their rights at defiance.

As to the charge, that the Australian colonists, who, in the circumstances I have described, earnestly desire their entire political freedom and national independence, are somewhat tinctured with republicanism, I fear it must be admitted. The fact is, there is no other form of government either practicable or possible, in a British colony obtaining its freedom and independence, than that of a republic. Without inquiring, therefore, for the present, as to whether any one form of government is better than another, it is sufficiently obvious that we must be prepared, as British colonists, if we are ever to become free and independent at all, to take that particular form "for better, for worse."\*

\* Mr. Wakefield seems to have arrived at a somewhat different conclusion on this important point, as will be evident from the following passage of his work.—

"The Imperial Sovereign is a person as well as an institution, and we reverence the one as much as we value the other. To transplant a complete offshoot of the whole is, therefore, simply impossible. The nearest approach to doing so would be by the erection of Canada, for example, into an independent monarchy, and filling its throne with a child of the British sovereign. But *the colonies are intended to be subordinate to the empire*, and though it would, I think, be wise to make the younger branches of a royal family, whose social position here is anything but agreeable, subordinate sovereigns of the more important colonies, yet *subordination requires that the colonial chief magistrate should be appointed and removable by the imperial.*—*View of the Art of Colonization*, p. 307.

Whether this beautiful theory of subordinate sovereignty would

And why should we be either unwilling or afraid to do so? It is now fifty years and upwards since the celebrated Charles James Fox characterized the British Government as a disguised Republic; and the Reform Act has since taken away a considerable portion of the disguise. Why then should Englishmen object to a Republic without disguise for their emancipated colonies? Why should they object to a form of government which has given birth, in every department of human excellence, to a series of the greatest and noblest men that have ever trod the earth? Why should they vainly attempt to disparage those glorious republics of antiquity, from which we have inherited so much that exalts and embellishes humanity, and whose invaluable annals are so prolific in the most splendid achievements that the pen of history records.\*

No wonder that there should be a wide-spread and deep-rooted, although, in many instances, I believe, an affected prejudice against Republican institutions, among the hangers-on for office both at home and abroad—among the numerous horde of helpless and hungry expectants of a share in the spoils of the people. But that such a prejudice, whether real or affected, should

be practicable in Canada, so very near as it is to the United States, I have no idea whatever. I can safely state, however, that the thing would be utterly impracticable in the Australian colonies. Besides, I do not think it advisable to put forth theories of this kind, which inexperienced people of all ranks in England would probably unite in admiring, but which would most certainly lead to a civil war, if attempted to be carried out in the colonies generally.

\* In (*ancient*) Mexico, small colonies (*of Indians*), wearied of tyranny, gave themselves republican constitutions. Now, it is only after long popular struggles that these free constitutions can be formed. The existence of republics does not indicate a very recent civilization.—*Humboldt, New Spain*, book ii. 6.

extend to men professing the Christian religion, and receiving the Holy Scriptures of both Testaments as the Word of God, I confess, surpasses my comprehension. "The Christian religion," says Novalis, an able German writer of the present century, "is the root of all democracy, the highest fact in the rights of man."\* Besides, it is matter of sacred history that the only form of human government that was ever divinely established upon earth, was the Republican—in the wilderness of Sinai—and that God himself interposed, in the person of his own accredited minister, to protest against the unwarrantable innovation, when that form of government was at length set aside in the commonwealth of Israel, and monarchy established in its stead.† Monarchy doubtless prevailed for a long period in that country, by *Divine permission*, as many things else do in this lower world, that are certainly not of Divine appointment; but Republicanism existed from the first by *Divine appointment*; and it cannot, I submit, be a very bad form of government, which can plead such an authority in its favour.

I shall be told indeed that the Israelitish government was a *theocracy*, and that it therefore forms no precedent

\* Novalis, quoted by Carlyle.

† Then all the elders of Israel gathered themselves together, and came to Samuel unto Ramah, And said unto him, Behold, thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways: now make us a king to judge us like all the nations. But the thing displeased Samuel, when they said, Give us a king to judge us. And Samuel prayed unto the Lord. And the Lord said unto Samuel, Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them. According to all the works which they have done since the day that I brought them up out of Egypt even unto this day, wherewith they have forsaken me, and served other Gods, so do they also unto thee.—1 *Samuel*, viii. 4—9.

for us. But it was evidently quite as much a theocracy under the kings, as during the commonwealth. Nay, in the original *Magna Charta* of Israel—that famous *Constitutional Act* which came down from Heaven, bearing the *Sign Manual* of the Eternal, for the establishment of a Republic, more glorious, and happier far, while it subsisted, than those of either Greece or Rome—there was an express provision for the foreseen contingency of the establishment of a monarchy; and the theocracy was, therefore, as complete in every part of it, during the reigns of David and Solomon, as under the presidency of Joshua and Samuel.\* There was no part of the theocratic government set aside or abrogated on the introduction of monarchical institutions: the Divine command, in regard to the outward form of government, was merely set at nought, just as it was in a thousand

\* When thou art come unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are about me; Thou shalt in any wise set *him* king over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall choose: *one* from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee: thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother. But he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses: forasmuch as the Lord has said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way. Neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away: neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold. And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book of *that which is* before the priests the Levites: And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes, to do them: That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may prolong *his* days in his kingdom, he, and his children, in the midst of Israel.—*Deuteronomy*, xvii. 14—20.



other instances; but the Divine Constitution subsisted in every other particular notwithstanding. It is impossible for any man of common understanding to come to any other conclusion on reading the beautiful and affecting passage quoted below.

In that ancient Magna Charta, moreover, we find all the principles of manly freedom established and developed—universal suffrage, perfect political equality (combined with one of the most beautiful and affecting devices imaginable to preserve it,) and popular election; the three grand fundamental principles of Republican government. As this, however, may be regarded as an unwarrantable assertion, I beg to subjoin the proof, which can easily be verified, as the authorities are in everybody's hands.

When the congregation of Israel, therefore, were assembled on the plains of Moab, previous to their entrance into the promised land, it had become a matter of necessity to ascertain who were thenceforth to be considered *the nation*, for all political purposes; and among whom, and on what principles, the national domain, which was about to be acquired, was to be parcelled out and divided: for the ancient conquest of Canaan was attended with very different results to the great body of the people who were thenceforth to inhabit the land, from those of the famous Norman Conquest of England. A *Census* was accordingly taken by Divine command—not of all the people, however, but of *all the males, from twenty years old and upwards*; who were thenceforth to be considered for all political purposes *the nation*. For on their number being ascertained to be 601,730 (Six hundred and one thousand, seven hundred and thirty), it was further divinely directed that the land should be equally divided among these males, without partiality and without distinction;

the families which had a larger proportion of such males to have a larger extent of land, and those which had fewer to have the less.\* And in order, as much as possible, to preserve this political equality, and the equality of property which was deemed necessary to maintain it, it was further provided that, every fiftieth year, all those who had in the mean time been *sold off* or *sold out*, whether through mismanagement or misfortune, should return every man to the possession of his family.†

\* And it came to pass after the plague, that the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest, saying, Take the sum of all the congregation of the children of Israel, from twenty years old and upward, throughout their father's house, all that are able to go to war in Israel. And Moses and Eleazar the priest spake with them in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho, saying, *Take the sum of the people*, from twenty years old and upward; as the Lord commanded Moses and the children of Israel, which went forth out of the land of Egypt.

• • These *were* the numbers of the children of Israel, six hundred thousand and a thousand seven hundred and thirty. And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Unto these the land shall be divided for an inheritance according to the number of names. To many thou shalt give the more inheritance, to few thou shalt give the less inheritance: to every one shall his inheritance be given according to those that were numbered of him. Notwithstanding the land shall be divided by lot: according to the names of the tribes of their fathers they shall inherit. According to the lot shall the possession thereof be divided between many and few.—*Numbers*, xxvi. 1—4. 51—56.

† And thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; and the space of seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years. Then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the jubilee to sound on the tenth day of the seventh month, in the day of atonement shall ye make the trumpet sound throughout all your land. And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout *all* the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubilee unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family.—*Leviticus*, xxv. 8—10.

And when these principles had been in so far reduced to practice, we learn, from an interesting incident, that the mode of appointment to public offices was by popular election. For after a portion of the land had been surveyed and settled, under the presidency of Joshua, there still remained seven tribes to be located. In these circumstances, Joshua assembled the people, and directed them to elect whomsoever they might consider "fit and proper persons" to survey and divide the land, and he would appoint them accordingly, by giving them their Commissions and Instructions, as the Head of the Executive.\*

Here then are the three great fundamental principles of Republican government—Universal Suffrage, Perfect Political Equality, and Popular Election—in full operation, under the Divine sanction and appointment, in the commonwealth of ancient Israel. And surely, if the God of Heaven deemed it just and necessary to establish such principles of national government for the welfare and advancement of His own chosen people, I appeal, with perfect confidence, to professed Christians of all denominations throughout the United Kingdom, as to whether it can be either wrong or unwarrantable to advocate the establishment of such principles for the government of a community of British origin at the ends of the earth.

\* And there remained among the children of Israel seven tribes, which had not yet received their inheritance. And Joshua said unto the children of Israel, How long *are ye slack to go to possess the land, which the Lord God of your fathers hath given you? Give out from among you three men for each tribe: and I will send them, and they shall rise, and go through the land, and describe it according to the inheritance of them; and they shall come again to me. And they shall divide it into seven parts: Judah shall abide in their coast on the south, and the house of Joseph shall abide in their coasts on the north. Ye shall therefore describe the land into seven parts, and bring the description hither to me, that I may cast lots for you here before the Lord our God.* *Joshua, xviii. 2—6.*

In the year 1635, the mere handful of Puritan-settlers who had then but very recently gone forth from England to plant the new colony of Connecticut, on the banks of the beautiful river of that name, in North America, met together, by appointment, *in a barn*, to form a Constitution for the future government of their country, as they were empowered to do under their Charter. They accordingly framed a Constitution, based on the three principles I have indicated as the characteristic features of the Constitution of ancient Israel—Universal Suffrage, Perfect Political Equality and Popular Election—and that Constitution remained unchanged for upwards of one hundred and forty years, or until the Revolution of 1776! It had necessarily to undergo some change on an event of such mighty moment for the whole country; but what was the amount of that change? Why it was simply the substitution of the word *People* for the word *King*; for with that necessary alteration excepted, the Constitution of Connecticut remains unchanged and in full operation as it was originally framed, to the present day! In short, these honest men did the right thing at first, and it required no mending afterwards. But where, it may be asked, did they get such objectionable principles, which are now so generally referred by political writers and statesmen to *Chartism*, *Communism*, and *Socialism*; as it is matter of history that none of these *isms* were ever heard of till a full century and a half after their time? Why, they got them, as is quite evident from the preceding argument, in precisely the same place in which I have got them, and in which any person may get them still, in that *Word of God which endureth for ever*.

As to the question whether the Australian colonies are fit to be trusted with a government based on such liberal principles, the very proposal of such a question

is an insult to the understandings, and an outrage on the rights of British freemen. Let it be remembered, that the people for whom the singularly free constitution of ancient Israel was established, were living under the mere twilight of Judaism, and were oppressed, moreover, with the weight of its burdensome ceremonial, while we, a community of British origin, rejoice in the light and liberty of the Gospel. Let it be remembered, moreover, that only a few years before this free constitution was proclaimed, the whole nation of Israel were a nation of slaves. In short, the only preparation for national freedom is freedom itself.\*

There are, doubtless, people in England who peck and laugh at the idea of universal suffrage for any community of British origin, on the ground of its alleged injustice in excluding the women and children; who, as they allege, ought also to have votes. Let these "minute philosophers," however, explain, if they can, why the God of Heaven authorized Moses and Eleazar to leave out the women and children of ancient Israel, when they were numbering *the nation* (as it was thenceforth to be considered for all political purposes), and we shall meet them on the point. It is comparatively easy for "iniquity established by law," and rendered venerable by the practice of ages, to make itself merry with the rights of men; but it ought to be remembered, that it is not always perfectly safe in these stirring times.

I cannot allow the subject to pass without directing

\* Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they have become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait for ever.—*Macaulay's Essays*, i. 42.

the attention of the reader to the remarkably different principles on which the two communities of ancient Israel on the one hand, and the British nation on the other, were established in regard to property in land. In the community which, we all admit, God himself set up, there were 601,730 (six hundred and one thousand, seven hundred and thirty) proprietors of land, each having an equal share, for a population not exceeding at the utmost three millions of souls! But in Great Britain and Ireland, under a constitution, doubtless, the most glorious and happy, both in church and state, that was ever devised by man, there are, according to Mr. D'Israeli,\* not more than about 240,000 (two hundred and forty thousand) proprietors of land for a population of about twenty-eight millions of people! *Hinc illæ lachrymæ!* Hence the enormous competition for a subsistence among all classes throughout the three kingdoms. Hence the perpetual recurrence of scenes of frightful destitution, from the want of employment, and the want even of the commonest necessaries of life, among whole masses of the people. Hence the peculiarly ominous aspect of the condition of England question to all concerned!†

\* In one of his speeches in the House of Commons about four years ago.

† A time there was, ere England's griefs began,  
 When every rood of ground maintained its man;  
 For him light labour spread her wholesome store,  
 Just gave what life required, and gave no more:  
 His best companions, innocence and health;  
 And his best riches, ignorance of wealth.— *Goldsmith.*

Famine is the prevailing type in which peasant life seems now to be printed, throughout the whole district I traverse. It has been my habit, from time to time, to leave my car, and enter the cabins by the roadside; it was enough to melt a heart of stone to see the people in them. In one instance, under the roof of a tumble-down

Let it not be supposed, however, that, in making such a comparison, I have any wish for a redistribution of the property of the Mother-country. I am no Communist or Socialist, although any man who honestly advocates the cause of the people, whether at home or abroad, will be sure to be subjected to that reproach. My object is very different. Conceiving, as I do, that colonization is the grand necessity of the times for the British people, it is simply to inform the struggling classes of all grades of society at home, for whom there is evidently no inheritance provided in the land of their fathers, that there is land enough and to spare for them all in the noble colonies of Australia. *We have seen the land; and behold it is very good! and the gold of that land is good also.* Let them come to us in any numbers, under such able and honest leadership as may easily be found, to assist us in setting up a government in that land, somewhat more on God's model than on that of man,—a government based, like that of ancient Israel, on universal suffrage, perfect political equality, and popular election; and under which, moreover, they may all literally *sit, each under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree, and none to make them afraid.*

In regard to the bearing of Republican government on the development of national spirit, national character, and national virtue, I would beg to quote the fol-

house, I found a mother and some small children, the latter quite naked, mere skeletons. At another spot, a scarce-clad girl was sitting at the door of a wretched hovel: I took from the well of my car a loaf which I threw to her. In a moment a crowd of beings rushed from the cabin, and a struggle began for the prize, in which all feelings for sex and age were forgotten. The prasha weed, or corn kail, with nettles, is now so sought after, that serious damage is now done to the corn by the poor creatures who thus try to live.—*Correspondent of the TIMES from the West of Ireland, June, 1849.*

lowing remarks of the learned and eloquent historian of Greece on the result of the establishment of popular government in the City and State of Athens, after the subversion of as selfish, effete, and unprincipled an oligarchy as that which has hitherto prevailed, under the fostering care of the Colonial Office, in the Australian Colonies.

“ The grand and new idea of the Sovereign People, composed of free and equal citizens, or liberty and equality—to use words which so profoundly moved the French nation half a century ago—it was this comprehensive political idea which acted with electric effect upon the Athenians, creating within them a host of sentiments, motives, sympathies, and capacities, to which they had before been strangers. Democracy, in Grecian antiquity, possessed the privilege, not only of kindling an earnest and unanimous attachment to the constitution in the bosoms of the citizens, but also of creating an energy of public and private action, such as could never be obtained under an oligarchy, where the utmost that could be hoped for was a passive acquiescence and obedience. \* \* \* Herodotus, in his comparison of the three sorts of government, puts in the front rank of the advantages of democracy ‘its most splendid name and promise,’ its power of enlisting the hearts of the citizens in support of their constitution, and of providing for all a common bond of union and fraternity. This is what even democracy did not always do; but it was what no other government in Greece *could* do: a reason alone sufficient to stamp it as the best government, and presenting the greatest chance of beneficial results, for a Grecian community.”\*

I happened to reach the city of Rio de Janeiro, in

\* *History of Greece.* By George Grote, Esq., vol. iv. p. 241.



the Brazils, where I remained a fortnight, on my first voyage to New South Wales, in the month of January, 1823, only a few days after the country had thrown off the yoke of Portugal, and proclaimed its national existence and independence. It was a period of extraordinary excitement and enthusiasm; and triumphal arches, thrown across the principal streets of the city, bearing in large letters the inscription *Independencia o Morte*, "Independence or Death," proclaimed the new-born liberties and awakened spirit of the people. Don Pedro, the eldest son of the King of Portugal, who happened to be in the country at the time, adroitly placed himself at the head of the movement, and guaranteeing liberal institutions to the people, probably secured the country for a generation or two for his family. But "the new idea of the Sovereign People" was evidently working the same changes at Rio as it had done at Athens, and was visibly infusing new life into the whole community. I have twice visited the country since (not at Rio, however, but at Pernambuco), in the years 1839 and 1846; and it was impossible, on either of these occasions, not to recognize the transforming influence and beneficial working of popular freedom and national independence. All public improvements in the country were dated from the era of Independence. A National System of education had been established on a popular basis, *free from all priestly control*; and a bill had been actually under the consideration of the Brazilian Senate for the legalizing of the marriage of priests. The monasteries were tumbling down, but schools and colleges were rising in their stead. I assisted, by particular desire, in 1846, as a Master of Arts of a European University, at the creation of a Bachelor of Laws in the Brazilian University of Olinda, the most ancient on the continent of America; and in

return for a letter of congratulation and good wishes which I addressed, in the Latin language, to the graduate, I had the honour, some time after my arrival in England, of receiving a diploma of honorary membership from the Literary Institute of that ancient city.

In regard to the bearing of Republican institutions on public and private morals, and on the prevalence and practice of pure and undefiled religion, I think it must be evident to the readers of Holy Scripture, that notwithstanding their frequent national defections, the morals of the nation of Israel were much purer under the Judges or Presidents of the Hebrew Commonwealth, than under the Kings: and as to the prevalence of that high-toned piety which the law of God enjoins, we have an express testimony on the subject which cannot be gainsaid. In that dark and dismal period which preceded the fall of Jerusalem, and the temporary extinction of the Jewish State, it was natural for the patriot and prophet Jeremiah, when anticipating and lamenting over the approaching ruin of his country, to look back with a melancholy pleasure to those brighter and palmier days of its past history, when Israel walked with God, and God blessed Israel. And to what period in the past history of his nation does he look for these glorious days? Is it to the reigns of Josiah and Hezekiah, those reforming kings of Judah? Is it to the period of the warrior David, the sweet singer of Israel? By no means. The prophet at once overleaps the whole period of the monarchy, and recurs instinctively to the far brighter and palmier period of the infancy of the Hebrew Commonwealth. *I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown. Israel was holiness unto the Lord, the first fruits of his increase.\**

\* Jerem. ii. 2, 3.

There is no reason to fear, therefore, either for morals or for religion, under a popular form of government, established on the ancient and divinely accredited basis of universal suffrage, perfect political equality, and popular election.

SECTION XVIII.—A FIFTH OBJECTION URGED—THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES WOULD BE UNABLE TO DEFEND AND PROTECT THEMSELVES FROM FOREIGN AGGRESSION, IN THE EVENT OF THEIR OBTAINING THEIR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE, AND WOULD, THEREFORE, IF ABANDONED BY GREAT BRITAIN, VERY SOON FALL INTO THE HANDS OF SOME OTHER POWER.

This is an argument against colonial freedom and independence, which is often put forth triumphantly by those who find it to their personal advantage to keep things as they are, and which is not without considerable weight with timorous and nervous people; but we only require to look at it for a moment to feel assured of its utter worthlessness. For who, I ask, are the enemies with whom the Australian colonies, if free and independent, would have to contend? Is it the wretched Aborigines of our own territory? Alas! most of them have already disappeared from the face of the earth; *the last man* of the Sydney tribe or nation, once a comparatively numerous body of people, having died a few years ago? Is it the New Zealanders or the South Sea Islanders? The very idea is absurd. Is it the Malays of the Indian Archipelago, or the adventurous subjects of the Emperors of China and Japan? These inoffensive and unwarlike people could never even find their way to the Australian colonies. They have no idea where they lie, and have probably never heard of them. It is evident, therefore, that the formidable enemies of free and independent Australia can be no Aboriginal people within the vast semicircle, having Australia for its centre, and extending north-

wards and eastwards from the Cape of Good Hope to Cape Horn.

We must therefore look for the future enemies of free and independent Australia among the civilized and Christian nations of Europe and America; and before entertaining the very idea that any of these nations would commit any act of unprovoked aggression upon us, we must do them the honour to suppose that they are no better than the Scandinavian Sea-kings of the middle ages—mere pirates and robbers—which they would all doubtless consider a very high compliment. Away with the unnatural and anti-Christian policy that would thus proclaim the whole human race but ourselves “rogues and vagabonds,” and get Acts of Parliament passed, and treaties and alliances formed, to denounce them, and fleets and armies hired to put them down! This was the policy that saddled Great Britain with her eight hundred millions of debt, and that has reduced whole masses of her population, in the midst of all the elements of national wealth and universal prosperity, to a state of suffering and wretchedness utterly discreditable to any civilized nation.

Considering then that we have nothing to fear from external aggression in Australia, within the vast semi-circle extending northward and eastward from the Cape of Good Hope to Cape Horn, and that we have all the substantial protection besides that a four months' voyage, which it takes to reach us, implies, against the supposed Sea-kings—the pirate and robber States—of modern Europe and America, we can easily afford to treat the famous question of *National Defences* very coolly. Besides Great Britain herself, the only maritime powers in Christendom that could be supposed capable, even if they possessed the inclination, of committing acts of aggression upon free and independent

Australia, are France, and Russia, and America; but so far from any of these great Powers having the slightest inclination to meddle with us in such circumstances, I appeal to every intelligent reader, as to whether it would not be a far likelier event, that the Envoys we should have to send to these countries with the tidings of our freedom and independence, would be received at Paris, and Petersburg, and Washington, with the most cordial welcome, and be admitted at once into the great family of nations with the liveliest demonstrations of joy.

As to hostile aggressions, in the shape of predatory or piratical attacks on our Colonial towns, like those of the Buccaneers of America, on the towns of the Spanish American Colonies in the seventeenth century, it ought surely to be borne in mind that the age of the Buccaneers is long past, and that there are too many powerful flags in Christendom, in this advanced period of the nineteenth century, to allow a second edition of the old Buccaneers to walk the high seas in any part of the civilized world. And as to a regular invasion of the country, with a view to conquest and permanent occupation, I would ask, "Has anything of the kind been ever attempted, by any European Power whatsoever, in the case of the emancipated Spanish and Portuguese Colonies of South America?" And if no European Power has ever invaded the Ex-colonies of Spain and Portugal, in America, is it at all likely that any such Power would invade the Ex-colonies of Britain, in Australia? Is the *prestige* still so much in favour of Spain and Portugal, and of the once formidable race of the Peninsula, that there is no virtue in a British descent to repel an intending invader? Is Great Britain so fallen from her high estate, that her full-grown Australian children are to be treated as the common Pariahs

of the world, fit only to become the slaves of the first European master who chooses to flourish the whip over their devoted heads, and to claim possession of them as his "goods and chattels?" Away with such absurdities!

Then as to the Trade of the Australian Colonies, on the supposition of their Freedom and Independence, it is preposterous to suppose that it would stand in need of any other protection than could be easily and fully guaranteed to it. With the exception of a few steam-boats and coasting vessels, the Australian colonists have as yet no shipping of their own. Their trade, which is almost exclusively with the Mother-country, is conducted principally by means of British vessels, with a few American, Dutch, German and French. Now if these nations did not find the Australian trade profitable to themselves, they would certainly not engage in it; but so long as they do engage in it, their respective flags will afford it the requisite protection, for their own sakes, whether Australia be independent or not. It is simply the better market which Australian produce finds in the Mother-country, and the British tastes and habits of the Australian colonists, who naturally prefer the produce and manufactures of the old country to those of any other European nation, that give the virtual monopoly of the Australian trade to Great Britain; and it will be entirely her own fault, if Great Britain ever loses that monopoly, whatever be the political condition of Australia. It is by no means the interest of the Australian colonists to create a mercantile navy of their own for their trade with the old world. All they will require for half a century to come will be steam-boats and other vessels of moderate tonnage for their coasting trade. Labour can be much more profitably employed in Australia in raising raw produce for the foreign market than in ship building,

and mariners can be much more easily obtained in the old world than here. Neither is it the interest of Great Britain that the carrying trade with Australia should pass into the hands of the Australian people; and so long as she enjoys her present monopoly, it will be her own direct interest to protect that trade, as she is well able and can well afford to do.

In the event of a general European war, in which Great Britain should be a principal—whether her opponent were France, or Russia, or any other European power—she would be entirely relieved of the cost and trouble of protecting *us*, if we were free and independent, and she would therefore just have so many more ships of war to protect her own coasts. But as for *us*, and our foreign trade, we should in the meantime be in precisely the same condition as the United States were in during the long French War. The Americans then lived at peace with all nations, and traded with all alike. None of the belligerents ever thought of invading the United States, or of molesting the American flag; and the consequence was that the Union prospered amazingly during the war, and had become so strong at the close of it as to enforce even from France, during the energetic presidency of General Jackson, the payment of a large amount, for certain alleged aggressions upon American merchantmen during its continuance. Nay, removed as she is from the field of European strife so much farther than America, Australia would be still less likely to suffer in any way from European warfare. Her flag would be respected by all the belligerents: and the prevalence of a general European war, during which the flags of these belligerents would be in constant danger from each other, would only have the effect of raising Australia, as the long French war did the United States, in circumstances precisely similar, into a first-rate Maritime Power. In

such an event, many even of the lovers of peace in the old world would gladly emigrate to her territory, to enrol themselves among her free people, and thereby to avail themselves of such protection as her flag would afford them, both by sea and land, when Europe had been again transformed into a field of blood. But even, on the supposition that there should be no Australian marine, in the event of a general European war, if Great Britain were no longer able to protect the Australian trade in her own merchant ships, from French or Russian cruizers, our elder brother Jonathan would gladly step in to relieve her of her present monopoly, and to frank our commerce with her Stars and Stripes to all the world. In one word, if the Australian people desire to live at peace with all mankind for a century to come, the sooner they become free and independent the better; for in that event, and in that event alone, would their trade and territory be effectually protected from all hostile aggression whatsoever.

The fact is, the only chance we have of hearing of war in any shape in Australia for a century to come, lies in our connection with Great Britain, as a group of her many dependencies. And considering the warlike propensities of our worthy mother, and the character she has so long sustained of being the prize-fighter and pay-mistress of the world, our chance of peace under her wing is at best but very precarious.\* If she chose to go to war, which she may do at any time, and on any

\* Colonists have generally no predilection for war: they have almost uniformly been dragged into it by the Mother-country, for her own purposes, and not for theirs. Take a case in point: "Three years before this period (anno 1698), King William had concerted a plan for the general defence of the American settlements against the French forces in Canada and their Indian allies; in conformity with which, every colony was required to furnish a pecuniary contingent proportioned to the amount of its population, —to be administered according to the directions of the king. This



question in which we may not have the slightest imaginable interest, with any of the three great Powers I plan was submitted to all the provincial legislatures, *and disregarded or rejected by every one of them*; the colonies most exposed to attack being desirous of employing their forces in the manner most agreeable to their own judgment and immediate exigencies; and those which were more remote from the point of danger, objecting to participate in the expense. Governor Nicholson clearly perceived the utility of King William's plan as a preparative for the ulterior object of a General Government of the colonies: *and though peace had now been established, he determined to signalize his recent promotion, by reviving the royal project and retrieving its failure.* He ventured accordingly to introduce this unwelcome proposition to the assembly of Virginia; and employed all the resources of his address and ingenuity to procure its adoption. He asserted that a fort on the western frontier of New York was essential to the security of Virginia; and insisted that the legislature of this province was consequently engaged by every consideration of prudence, equity, and generosity, to contribute to its erection and support. But his arguments, though backed by all the aid they could desire from reference to the wish and suggestion of the king, proved totally unavailing; and the proposition experienced an unqualified rejection from the Assembly. Nicholson, astonished and provoked at this discomfiture, hastened to transmit a report of the proceeding to the king; in which he strongly reprobated the refractory spirit of the Virginians, and urged the propriety of compelling them yet to acknowledge their duty, and consult their true interests. William was so far moved by this representation, as to recommend to the Provincial Assembly a more deliberate consideration of the governor's proposition; and he even condescended to repeat the arguments which Nicholson had already unsuccessfully employed. But these reasons gained no additional currency from the stamp of royal sanction. The king's project encountered again the most determined rejection from the Assembly; and his argument elicited from them *only a firm but respectful remonstrance, in which they declared their conviction, 'that neither the forts then in being, nor any other that might be built in the province of New York, could in the slightest degree avail to the defence and security of Virginia; for that either the French or the northern Indians might invade this colony, and yet not approach within 100 miles of any of those forts.'*—*Grahame's History of the United States of America, vol. iii. p. 14.*

have mentioned, what a noble chance there would be for a few French, or Russian, or American frigates and privateers to cruize off Cape Leeuwin to pick up the outward-bounders, or off the North and South Capes of New Zealand, to alter the destination and ownership of our ships homeward bound to London and Liverpool, with their valuable cargoes of fine wool and tallow, copper and gold ! Besides, we should have the pleasure of such an occasional interlude as the burning of our towns on the coast, and the destruction of our ships in port : which would be enacted from no imaginable hostility to us as Australians, or colonists, but simply to annoy our pugnacious parent in London !

“ Oh ! but that is the very case in point,” I shall be told. “ Great Britain would defend and protect us in case of war, as she would be bound to do. She would have frigates cruizing off Cape Leeuwin ; she would have others off both Capes of New Zealand, and others still off this stormy Cape Horn, where you are now writing, and scarce able to guide the pen from the rolling and plunging of the ship in this tempestuous sea\* Besides, she would have ships of war cruizing along our whole line of coast, and occasionally enlivening us with their presence in our harbours ; and what is best of all, *she would make her own people pay all the expenses, without asking a farthing from us !*” † Now this is a great deal too much for Great Britain to do for us. We have no desire whatever to put her to the slightest trouble or expense in the matter, or to tax her people a

\* This passage was written when actually doubling Cape Horn with a strong northwesterly gale, and a heavy sea, in latitude 58° South.

† Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.

Whether the war be with Johnny Heki or with the Kaffirs, John Bull must pay the expenses.—*Free Translation.*

single farthing for our protection and defence—simply because it is quite unnecessary. Let her only give us our freedom and independence, and we promise her we will live at peace with all the world,—for this good reason, if for no better, that we could not afford to go to war; and she will in the meantime save the expense of her proposed naval armament for the protection and defence of Australia in the event of a European war.

From the present aspect of affairs in Eastern Europe, it is the general impression that a European war, in which Great Britain, as the ally of Turkey, will be opposed to Russia, is impending; and, in proof of the alarm which this impression has already created in these uttermost parts of the earth, proposals have actually been made in various quarters for having the Harbours of Port Jackson and Port Phillip placed in a state of defence, in the prospect of the contingency of a hostile visit from a Russian fleet or cruiser. Now, as such a visit is a very possible contingency in the event of a war between England and Russia, what, I would ask, have we—a community of 600,000 peacefully inclined people of British origin in Australia—what, I say, have we to do with a quarrel between Great Britain and Russia, on the other side of the globe? If Great Britain can no longer keep the peace with Russia, so as to allow us to live at peace with all mankind, Russia included, what right of any kind can she have to pretend to govern us an hour longer? We certainly neither have, nor wish to have, any quarrel with Russia; and it is clearly therefore both our interest and our duty to keep out of such a quarrel in the only way we can, by at once asserting our entire political freedom and national independence. For *he that passeth by, and meddleth with STRIFE THAT BELONGETH NOT UNTO HIM, is like one that taketh a dog by the ears.\**

\* Proverbs.

But Russia is by no means the quarter from which we have most to fear, in the event of a European war, in these colonies. We have much more to apprehend on the part of our formidable neighbour, Louis Napoleon, the present Emperor of France; who, with nearly half a million of soldiers and a powerful fleet under his absolute command, has now got possession of the neighbouring Island of New Caledonia, one of the principal keys of the Pacific, as the site of a French Colony, from which he will at any time be able to command our whole line of coast. There is at present indeed an *entente cordiale* between England and France; and it is the obvious interest of Louis Napoleon, for the present at least, to maintain a good understanding with Great Britain. But how long such a state of things may last, no man can tell; especially considering the progressive accumulation of combustible materials, in all parts of Continental Europe on the one hand, and the past death-struggles of Great Britain and France on the other. The disastrous day of Waterloo can never be effaced from the memory of France; and although a large majority of the people of both countries are now earnestly desirous of the continuance of peace, it is not always the majority, especially under autocratic governments, that determine the movements of great nations. Besides, we know as a positive fact that, under every form of government in France during the last twenty-five years, there have been numerous and highly influential Frenchmen of all ranks in society, from the highest downwards, whose waking thought by day and whose dream by night it has constantly been to wipe out the national disgrace of Waterloo in some great measure of hostile aggression upon England. The *mania* in France for a war with England, during the administration of M. Thiers, in the reign of Louis Philippe—when the Prince de Joinville

published his famous pamphlet on the subject of an invasion of England—is well known. The idea was also entertained under the Republic, even at the time when French Commissioners were attending the Great Exhibition in London on the part of their National Government; and unmistakable indications are not wanting of its being still cherished under the Imperial regime of Louis Napoleon. “On the 31st of October, 1849,” says the *Edinburgh Reviewer* for July, 1853, “the Legislative Assembly of the French Republic passed a law ordering that an investigation should be instituted into the whole state of the navy by a commission of fifteen members of the Assembly itself, to be elected by ballot from the whole number. The Commission thus appointed comprised, amongst other eminent men, Admiral Hernoux, Vice-Admiral Lainé, and Captain Charner, of the Marine Service; the Duke of Montebello, M. Daru, and M. Lacrosse, who had been, or were about to be, Ministers of Marine; and M. Jules de Lasteyrie, M. Lanjuinais, Baron Charles Dupin, and M. Dufaure, of parliamentary celebrity.” This commission had accordingly been in existence two years when the famous Coup d’Etat annihilated both it and the Government under which it had its origin. But a copy or two of the unpublished Reports of the Commission, which the Imperial Government forthwith suppressed, happened to reach England; and these Reports sufficiently disclose the recent workings of the French mind on the subject of the national relations with Great Britain, and the intense desire that prevails extensively in influential quarters in France to humble the pride, to annihilate the commerce and to destroy the resources of England by a whole series of acts of aggression on a large scale on the first favourable opportunity. And if it is true, as the proverb assures us it

is, that *where there is a will, there is a way*, there will assuredly not be wanting, in the dark mysterious future of Europe, some way to gratify this unworthy feeling by affording the French both the pretext and the opportunity for a whole series of hostile and vindictive aggressions upon the vast and peculiarly vulnerable empire of Great Britain.

“We must first establish,” said M. Collas, the Secretary of the Commission, “the number of ships of the line that France can and ought to put to sea the day that war is declared. On this head we have a certain basis. *Our adversary is known. It can only be England.*” M. Collas proposed a scheme, expressly adapted in time of peace, “to prepare for the moment when *all the possessions of England might be attacked at once*, and especially her trade at the outset of the war.”

Admiral Hernoux said that “the only use of frigates henceforth was to harass the commerce of the enemy, especially in the Indian seas:” to which Admiral Lainé very judiciously added that “although the frigates sent for this purpose to India might be in jeopardy, yet that was no reason to forego harassing the commerce of the enemy, especially *as they might give support to the native population whenever it was disposed to revolt against England.*” The Report also proposed that they should keep afloat a sufficient number of cruizers (in the words of M. Collas)—“to display the French flag at all times in all the seas of the globe; \* \* and, on a declaration of war with England, *to strike her possessions everywhere at once*, as soon as the declaration of hostilities was made known.” Particular reference is made to the purposes which such cruizers might be made to serve in the Pacific and Indian Oceans; for “if war broke out,” says the worthy Secretary, “these ships, perfectly armed and equipped, would be apprised

of it by *the steam communications through Suez and Panama; and before France and England could send a fleet to sea, they would commence the destruction of the commerce of the enemy all over the globe.*"

And in order to effect this desirable object, "the destruction of our commerce," it is particularly recommended to the Commission that the French Navy should consist in future of numerous fast-sailing vessels, of moderate dimensions, rather than of a few large and heavy-armed ships. "Velocity," says M. Maistiat, one of the witnesses examined, "is the natural weapon against an enemy better armed and *more vulnerable on different points*. It is the natural and indispensable weapon of the party weakest in resources, least powerful at sea, and *most daring by national character*. (?) It is, therefore, the natural weapon of France."\*

It is perfectly evident from this Report—which the Emperor, Louis Napoleon, very judiciously suppressed—

1. That it is not merely the opinion but the firm belief of men of the highest standing and influence in France, that there will ere long be a war between that country and England.

2. That France is now making effectual preparation for this 'coming event in the present time of peace: and

3. That her policy, in any future war, is, by means of numerous fast-sailing armed vessels, *to strike all the possessions of England at once*, immediately after the declaration of war, and before fleets or cruizers can be sent out for their defence and protection.

Now can any person of ordinary intelligence doubt what the first point of attack will be in the next French war? If any doubt could be entertained on the subject

\* *Edinburgh Review*, for July, 1853. Article, *The French Navy*, passim.

since the discovery of gold in Australia, it would surely be dispelled by the recent occupation of the neighbouring Island of New Caledonia, by Louis Napoleon—as a French Colony ostensibly, but in reality as a great French Naval and Military Station for the simultaneous attack of all British possessions, and the destruction of British commerce in the Southern Hemisphere, in the event of a war.

If these Australian Colonies, therefore, are to continue dependencies of Great Britain, the British minister who allowed the Island of New Caledonia—so transcendently important as a Naval Station, and so commanding as a centre of hostile aggression upon all the Australian possessions of Great Britain—to fall into the hands of the French, ought decidedly to be impeached; for a heavier blow was never struck at the Colonial empire of Britain, than the one which Louis Napoleon has so adroitly aimed at it by taking possession of that island. It is evident at all events from this masterly manœuvre that the Australian Colonies are to be the grand point of attack in the next French war; and that, in accordance with the Report of the French Commission, a grand effort will be made, immediately on the declaration of war, *to strike all the possessions of England* simultaneously in these seas.

That Great Britain, with her long list of dependencies of all kinds in Asia, Africa, America, Australia and Polynesia—extending as they do along thousands of miles of sea coast, and presenting numberless vulnerable points for an active and energetic enemy like the French,—will ever be able to afford effectual protection to the whole of these dependencies in any future war with France, besides protecting her own coast from invasion, is out of the question: the thing is physically impossible. “I am intimately convinced,” said Admiral



de la Susse, one of the witnesses examined by the French Commission, "that France has nothing to dread in a contest with England; and when I compare my recollections of what our vessels were under the Empire to what they are now, I am persuaded, that if it were well managed, England would suffer more than France in such a struggle."

What then will be the probable result—as far as these colonies are concerned—of the outbreak of a war between Great Britain and France, an event which a single turn in the European political wheel of fortune may bring round at any moment? Why, our trade will at once be crippled, if not absolutely destroyed; our coasting vessels will be picked up, one by one, at our very doors, by the enemy's fast-sailing cruizers, and carried off, with all their passengers and crews, as prizes to New Caledonia; and ruinous contributions will be levied, from time to time, on our seaport towns, under the threat of immediate destruction. In such circumstances, whatever the great majority of the colonists may now think as to the benefits and blessings of British connection, an important change will then come over the spirit of their dream; a strong party, if not previously in existence, will start into being to insist upon a declaration of freedom and independence, to put an immediate end to these calamities, which such a declaration would do at once: and this party will in all probability invite the French to assist them, just as the Americans did in *their* struggle for independence. And we know from the Report of their own Commission that the French are prepared beforehand, in such an event, to give support to the native population whenever it is disposed to revolt against England. They would never think of making us French colonies,—they made no such attempt in America;—but they would doubtless

most willingly land a few thousand troops from the Island, on any part of the coast where their services might be needed, in aid of the party of Freedom and Independence. That party would thus gain the upper hand; they would forthwith declare the country a Sovereign and Independent State, and proclaim a Republic; and the friends and advocates of British connection, which had thus needlessly involved the country in such calamities, would have no other resource left them than to adopt their views and surrender at discretion. In one word, paradoxical as the thing may appear, these colonies have everything to hope for from a war between England and France—it would give them the greatest of all earthly blessings, freedom and independence.

Now, would it not be greatly preferable for all parties and interests concerned, if these Australian colonies were free and independent, before the Mother-country becomes involved in any European war? What, I ask, would Great Britain herself lose by such an event? Nothing but an empty name. Nay, she would be a positive gainer to an incredible amount; for she would thenceforth be relieved of the enormous cost of protecting the Australian colonies in time of war, while their profitable trade would continue to flow in the old channels, and be rapidly and indefinitely increased. The colonies, on the other hand, could lose nothing imaginable by the change. On the contrary, they would gain immensely in every respect; for, in lieu of the impudent burlesque of free institutions with which they are at present treated through Imperial condescension, they would forthwith form a government for themselves on a thoroughly popular basis, under which they would at once take a high place in the family of nations, and live at peace with all the world, whatever wars might be waged in Europe.

The notable idea, which was seriously put forth a few years ago by the London *Morning Chronicle*, that if Great Britain should abandon her Australian colonies, some other European power would take them up, scarcely deserves the slightest notice. From the passage above quoted from Mr. Grote's *History of Greece*, the reader will doubtless infer that to take a free and independent country would be something very different from the mere taking of a miserable dependency. Besides, although the yoke of Britain—wit the hateful accompaniments it has hitherto implied—is galling enough to the British colonists of Australia who feel themselves entitled to their freedom and independence, they could never be induced to exchange that yoke for any other. If the yoke of Britain is galling, that of France, or Russia, or America, would be a hundred-fold more galling—it would be absolutely intolerable; for “Britons never can be slaves.”

SECTION XIX.—HOW THE CLAIM OF FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE IS LIKELY TO BE RECEIVED BY THE PARENT STATE.

There is no political truth so universally admitted as that certain colonies, or groups of colonies, will ultimately attain their freedom and independence, and become great and powerful nations.\* The idea that millions, or even hundreds of thousands, of intelligent and enterprising people, living together in any country whatever, will allow themselves, in this advanced period of the world's history, to be governed by any other people

\* “Every colony ought by us to be looked upon as a country destined, at some period of its existence, to govern itself.—*The Colonies of England*. By John Arthur Roebuck, Esq., M.P., p. 170. “When their numbers are multiplied, and their capital accumulated so as to render manufactures profitable, they will assuredly cease to be colonists.”—*Merivale* i. 218.

residing at the opposite extremity of the globe, is so pre-eminently absurd that no person of any pretensions to common sense or common honesty would venture to stake his reputation upon putting it forth. "There must ultimately, therefore," it is universally admitted, "be a time for the separation of the colony, or group of colonies, from the Parent State. But nobody, surely," it will be added, "can be mad enough to suppose that this time has come yet! Wait a while longer by all means,—it is only a question of time."

But this question of time is just the point upon which the whole case turns. For while the colonist maintains that the *present* time is the time fixed by the law of nature and the ordinance of God, as the community to which he belongs has attained its political majority, and is both able and willing to govern itself; "Pooh, pooh!" says the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, backed, as he is sure to be, by a large majority of the people of England, "the *future* time can be the only proper time for the consideration of so grave a question. Let us hear no more of it, therefore, for half a century to come."

Thus the very people who will take infinite credit, from all who are simple enough to give it them, for their glorification of Kossuth and Mazzini for their heroic efforts to establish the freedom and independence of Hungary and Rome, will look as cold as the frigid zone upon those who presume to claim for a whole group of British colonies—that is, for their own countrymen, and friends, and brothers,—that freedom and independence to which they are unquestionably entitled by the law of nature and the ordinance of God. The Ministry of the hour, whose glory it would diminish, and whose power it would abridge, will doubtless meet the claim of the colonists and their friends with the stale and dis-

honest charge of disaffection and rebellion; and the people of England, who have just, perhaps, been fêting and huzzaing the champions of the liberties of continental Europe, will stand tamely by while their own rulers are employing all the powers of the State to repress and extinguish the dawning liberties of Australia. "There are instances," says Professor Heeren, "in which individual rulers, weary of power, have freely resigned it; but no *people* ever yet voluntarily surrendered authority over a subject nation."\* It would seem, therefore, that those "hereditary bondsmen," of the British colonies, who would be free and independent, must still achieve that freedom and independence in the old regular and accustomed way. Like the patriarch Jacob, they must *take their portion out of the hand of the Amorite with their sword and with their bow.*†

But although it would be contrary to all experience to suppose that Great Britain will ever spontaneously relinquish the sovereignty of her colonies, it is now universally admitted that she will never repeat the

\* *Reflections on the Politics of Ancient Greece.* Jeremy Bentham expresses a similar idea in regard to an aristocracy, and this is perhaps more directly applicable to the case in question; the power in that case being in the hands of the Imperial Parliament, which can only be regarded as an aristocracy exercising absolute power over the subject people of the colonies. "Of voluntary surrenders of *monarchy* into the hands of expectant and monarchical successors, there is no want of examples: not even in modern—not even in European history:—Charles the Fifth of Germany, monarch of so many vast monarchies; Christina of Sweden; Victor Amadeus of Savoy; Philip the Fifth of Spain: here, in so many different nations, we have already four examples. But, on the part of an aristocratical body, where is there as much as any one example to be found of the surrender of the minutest particle of power which they were able to retain?"—Jeremy Bentham, *Plan of Parliamentary Reform.*

† *Gen.* xviii. 22.

enormous political blunder of the first American war, by attempting to compel their unwilling submission by force of arms. "The people of England," says the leading journal of Europe, "have long ago renounced any wish to retain by force of arms remote settlements, inhabited by people of our own race, in unwilling and compulsory subjection. Henceforth the bond of union which unites Britain to her colonies must be free."\*

The Australian Colonies will therefore have no need of a second Washington to achieve their freedom and independence; and still less will they stand in need of another La Fayette to assist him. They will only have to declare themselves free, sovereign and independent States, in real earnest, and the thing will be done without further trouble. Like the extraction of a tooth, the operation may give our dear mother a momentary pang; but it will be all over in a twinkling, and she will then be agreeably surprised to find herself, notwithstanding the recognition of our freedom and independence, much better than ever. And as to the precise time when this necessary operation will have to be performed, I repeat it—whenever Louis Napoleon's cruizers shall pick up a few of our coasting vessels and carry them off, with all their passengers and cargo, to durance vile in New Caledonia, as we may rest assured will be done on the first outbreak of war between England and France,—all further hesitation on the subject will be at an end, and the operation will be performed at once, *nemine contradicente*. In the grand political game of the old world, this trump card for Australia is sure to turn up at length, to enable her to win the game, and thereby to precipitate a consummation so devoutly to be wished.

The silent but successful operation of the Free Trade

\* *Times*, July 30, 1852.

System for the last few years has already wrought a wonderful change in public opinion in England on the subject of her relations with the Colonies; and I have myself had occasion to observe again and again, during my late visit to the Mother-country, that when any modest and moderate advocate of colonial rights addresses an intelligent audience on the subject of colonial freedom in any of the great cities of the United Kingdom—assuring our fellow countrymen that, we colonists, honour and respect Her Majesty the Queen, and admire the British Constitution as cordially as any of themselves; that we cherish the same strong attachment to the British people we have ever done, and are unfeignedly desirous to maintain relations of the strictest friendship with them to the end of time; but that it is absolutely necessary for our own welfare and advancement in the world, and indeed for *their* best interests as well as our own, that we should henceforth be left to govern ourselves as a Sovereign and Independent State—I have uniformly found on all such occasions, without one solitary exception—in London, Liverpool and Manchester, in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen—that the calm dispassionate proposal of Freedom and Independence for the Golden Lands of Australia, calls forth an immediate, warm, hearty, generous and enthusiastic response from the British People.

## CHAP. II.

ANCIENT AND MODERN COLONIZATION COMPARED AND  
CONTRASTED.

## SECTION I.—CARTHAGINIAN COLONIZATION.

THE principal colonizing nations of antiquity were the Carthaginians, the Greeks, and the Romans.\* Like the Phœnicians of their mother country, the famous cities of Tyre and Sidon, the Carthaginians were essentially a trading people, and their colonies were originally small factories, established exclusively for the purposes of trade, in remote countries already occupied by a people less advanced in the arts of civilization, like those of the East India Company at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, in the seventeenth century. By degrees, however, as these factories gained strength, through the accession of additional traders and adventurers from the mother country, who settled in and

\* King Solomon appears to have done something considerable in the way of colonization. The sacred writer informs us that *Solomon went to Hamath-Zobah, and prevailed against it. And he built Tadmor in the wilderness, and all the store cities, which he built in Hamath.*—2 Chron. viii. 3, 4. In these countries, as well as in the conquests of his father, David, to the eastward, Solomon probably planted one or more colonies of emigrants from the land of Israel, dividing among them the conquered territories. The advice given in Prov. xxiv. 27, *Prepare thy work without, and make it fit for thyself in the field, and afterwards build thine house,* appears to have been intended for these emigrants, to whom it must have proved the best possible advice; for it is difficult to conceive how it could have applied to the circumstances of a long settled country like the land of Israel in the days of Solomon.



around the factories, and in many instances intermarried with the natives, they were able eventually to take a part in all the quarrels and petty wars of the neighbouring chiefs, and thereby to subject them successively to their own authority, until at length each factory became the capital of a powerful State; which was thenceforth tributary to Carthage, and was governed with despotic authority by Generals and Governors appointed by the Carthaginian Senate. In this way the Carthaginians established trading factories and made extensive territorial acquisitions and conquests in the North of Africa, in Sicily, in Sardinia, in Corsica, and in Spain, thereby creating an extensive and formidable power, precisely like that of our own East India Company in Hindostan; the Carthaginian settlers and traders in these factories being compensated for their deprivation of all share in the government of their adopted country, by their general license to plunder the natives. Carthaginian colonization was therefore improperly so called, being rather a series of annexations and conquests than colonization; its main principles being, like those of our own East India Company, cupidity and usurpation.

#### SECTION II.—THE GREEK COLONIES.

One of the most interesting features in the history of the ancient world, is the remarkable extent to which the mere handful of people who inhabited "the Isles of Greece" diffused their singularly beautiful language, their equitable laws, their "elegant mythology,"\* and above all the spirit of manly freedom that pervaded their whole political system, over the remotest regions of the then known world. We know comparatively

\* "The elegant mythology of the Greeks."—*Gibbon*. Be it so—of course with a few grains of salt!

little of Phœnician colonization; and the barbarous and in politic decree of the Roman Senate, *Delenda est Carthago*,\* appears to have extended to the literature as well as to the walls of Carthage, to the archives of her history as well as to the monuments of her power. But the glorious Greeks have left the traces of their presence on every shore to which it was possible to steer their adventurous galleys, from the Pillars of Hereules to the Sea of Azof; and the solitary marble columns of her once splendid, but now fallen, temples, and palaces, and towers, that are still to be found alike, in the midst of surrounding desolation, on the verge of every African desert and every Asiatic coast, proclaim to the admiring traveller how mighty a people must once have lived and reigned in the Central Sea.

And yet the native land of these heroes of the olden time—Greece Proper—was considerably smaller than England: the famous Peloponnesus, which occupies so large a space in ancient history, being only about the size of Yorkshire;† for it was not until a comparatively

\* These were the terms of the famous decree of the Roman Senate for the destruction of Carthage, the ancient political rival of Rome.

† The Greek States made such a conspicuous figure in history, that the reader will not easily believe their inhabitants were so few, or their territories so small, as certain circumstances compel us to admit. The whole extent of their country, even when they flourished most, comprehended only the peninsula of Peloponnesus, and the territories stretching northwards from the isthmus of Corinth to the borders of Macedonia, bounded by the Archipelago on the east, and by Epirus and the Ionian Sea on the west. The mean breadth of Peloponnesus from north to south can scarcely be reckoned more than 140 miles, and its mean length from east to west cannot be estimated at more than 210 miles. Yet, within this narrow boundary, were contained six independent States, Achaia, Elis, Messenia, Laconia, Argolis, and Arcadia. Admitting, then, that the territories of these States were nearly of equal

late period, and after all the great works of Grecian colonization had been in some measure completed, that the Macedonians, who were afterwards so celebrated in Grecian history, were admitted into the brotherhood of the Greeks. The climate was doubtless superior to that of England, and the available land of greater fertility; but much of the superficial area of the country consisted of bare rocks and barren hills, and the territory of Attica in particular was very inferior in its agricultural capabilities. But the Greeks, and especially those of the islands, were a maritime people, and a comparatively large proportion of their number preferred living by commerce to the cultivation of the soil. Their foreign trade necessarily extended their knowledge and expanded their minds, whilst it brought them

extent, the dimensions of each particular State will appear to be no more than 23 miles in breadth, and 35 in length.

The country belonging to the Greeks on the north side of the isthmus, I have computed, from the best maps, to contain, of mean breadth, 153 miles from north to south, and of mean length, 258 miles from east to west. It comprehended no fewer than the following nine independent commonwealths, Thessaly, Locris, Bœotia, Attica, Megaris, Phocis, Ætolia, Acarnania, and Doris. Supposing, then, as in the former case, these commonwealths to have been nearly equal in point of territory, in order to obtain an idea of the mean magnitude of their dominions, we shall find each of them to have possessed lands to the extent only of 17 miles in breadth, and 28 in length. What is still more extraordinary, several of them consisted of cities, which were independent of one another, and were associated only for mutual defence. Both the Locrians and the Achæans afford instances of this case. The former had not even all their territories contiguous, nor did they act always in concert, and the twelve cities of the latter seem to have been connected in no other manner than by alliance.—*History of the Colonization of the Free States of Antiquity, applied to the present Contest between Great Britain and her American Colonies*, (attributed to W. Barron, Esq., F.R.S., Edinburgh,) p. 22. London, 1777.

large accessions to their national wealth: and this wealth nourished and sustained literature and science, philosophy and the arts. The consequence was that the Greeks were a cultivated and refined people, while the ruder Romans, who were steadily advancing to universal empire in their immediate neighbourhood, could only do two things—bear arms and cultivate the soil.

The political state of Greece, moreover, was most unfortunate, and apparently most unfavourable to national advancement. Instead of forming one great whole, and being thereby enabled to concentrate the national energies upon any one object or series of objects, the country, like Italy in the middle ages, was broken up into almost as many sovereign and independent States as there are counties in England: and these States were in perpetual warfare with each other—Greek everywhere and at all times meeting Greek in mortal strife, and the resources of the country being wasted the meanwhile in fruitless and ruinous wars.

And yet it was under all these disadvantages that, what Lord Bacon very properly designates the “heroic work” of colonization, was commenced among the ancient Greeks, and carried on from time to time with all the native energy and vigour of that wonderful people, till it reached at length an extent and magnitude that renders the utmost efforts even of Great Britain in modern times, and notwithstanding all the appliances of modern civilization, insignificant in comparison.

The first remote country, to which the colonizing efforts of the ancient Greeks were directed, was Asia Minor; and each of the three great divisions of their race—the Ionians, the Æolians, and the Dorians—formed a whole series of colonies on the coast of that country; the Ionians and Æolians having each twelve

cities or independent sovereignties, and the Dorians six.\* It is immaterial whether we refer the great migration, which led to the planting of these colonies or States, to a particular year, as is done by historians of the second class, who are generally dealers in the marvellous, or consider what is commonly called "the Ionian Migration" a legend, with Mr. Grote, and spread it over a long series of years; for the result is in either case precisely the same. The probability indeed is that there were not fewer than thirty different migrations altogether; each having a separate leader, and each founding a distinct city or State.† For as the same national calamity at home would, in all likelihood, either induce or compel a great many families and individuals of the same tribe or people to emigrate simultaneously from their native country, it was absolutely necessary in these times that they should do so, to enable them to effect a settlement in their adopted country at all; for Asia Minor was already inhabited,

\* Two hundred and forty years after the Trojan war, the western coast of Asia Minor was planted by the Æolians in the north, the Ionians in the middle, and the Dorians in the south (anno A.C. 944).—*Hist. of Ancient Greece, its Colonies and Conquests*. By John Gillies, L.L.D., vol. i. p. 103.

† There existed at the commencement of historical Greece in 776 B. C., besides the Ionians in Attica and the Cyclades, twelve Ionian cities of note on or near the coasts of Asia Minor, besides a few others less important. Enumerated from south to north, they stand—Milétus, Myus, Priéné, Samos, Ephesus, Kolophon, Lebedus, Teos, Erythræ, Chios, Klazomenæ, Phokæa.

That these cities, the great ornament of the Ionic name, were founded by emigrants from European Greece, there is no reason to doubt. How or when they were founded, we have no history to tell us: the legend gives us a great event called the Ionic migration, referred by chronologists to one special year, 140 years after the Trojan war.—*History of Greece*. By George Grote, Esq., vol. iii. p. 230.

although but thinly, by a warlike people, when it was colonized by the Greeks, and every distinct colony had consequently to defend itself against "the barbarians."\* In such circumstances, there was no such contemptible word as "protection"—in the sense of a naval or military force from the mother country, which certain timid people consider absolutely necessary for a *British* colony—in the whole colonial Greek vocabulary. Every colony defended and protected itself from the very first.

As these colonial cities or States grew and prospered, they generally became mother countries in their turn, and sent out other colonies, either into the interior, or along the remoter coasts of the adjacent seas. We shall have some idea of the prodigious amount of subsidiary colonization, which was thus originated in all the other twenty-nine original cities or colonies of Asia Minor, from what history informs us in regard to the famous city of Milêtus—the first of the Ionian cities, and the city in which the great apostle of the Gentiles held his interesting and affecting interview with the elders of the Church of Ephesus, when driven from that city by a popular commotion.† "Of the Ionic towns," says Mr. Grote, "with which our real knowledge of Asia Minor begins, Miletus was the most powerful; and its celebrity was derived not merely from its own wealth

\* Not the prosperity, not the policy, but the troubles and misfortunes of the country gave origin to the principal colonies of Greece. The *ÆOLIC MIGRATION* was an immediate consequence of the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Heracleids. The great *IONIC MIGRATION* took place somewhat later, but produced colonies still more flourishing. It was led from Athens by Androclus and Nilens, younger sons of Codrus, upon the occasion of the determination of the succession to the Archonship in favour of Medon. The Carian colonies in general boasted the *DORIAN* name.—*History of Greece*. By William Mitford, Esq., vol. i. p. 376.

† *Acts* xx. 17—38.

and population, but also from the extraordinary number of its colonies, established principally in the Propontis and Euxine, and amounting, as we are told by some authors, to not less than seventy-five or eighty.”\*

In this way, doubtless, the Carian or Dorian province of Lycia, towards the south coast of Asia Minor, was colonized from the old colonies—the Dorian Hexapolis, with its principal city Halicarnassus—on the coast. In that province Sir Charles Fellowes has, within the last few years, discovered a whole series of magnificent remains of Grecian antiquity; on which Mr. Buckingham, late M.P., makes the following judicious remark:—

“In the single province of Lycia—embracing little more than a degree in latitude and longitude, or not more than 2,000,000 acres, with a large portion of this limited area occupied by rocky mountains and inaccessible cliffs, with not a single large navigable river or lake,—were no less than thirty-six cities, in the time of Herodotus; while over the 200,000,000 of acres in our Western provinces, we could not present, in the united public works and edifices all put together, so much of architectural beauty, cost, and grandeur, as some single one of these cities of Asia Minor possesses, even now, in such of their remains as have yet come down to us after 2000 years or more of time!”†

But Lycia was only one small province of Asia Minor. The whole country was a series of such provinces—all colonized successively by the Greeks, and all doubtless exhibiting the magnificent remains of Grecian architecture to the present day.

At a somewhat later period in the history of Greece, Grecian colonization took a westerly direction; and one of the principal colonizing cities or states of Greece,

\* *History of Greece.* By George Grote, vol. iii. p. 241.

† Buckingham, *Model of a Town, &c.*

which sent out colonies in that direction, was the celebrated city or State of Corinth. Of the many colonies planted by that city, I shall mention only three. The first was Locri, on the north coast of the Gulf of Corinth, to which I shall have occasion to refer in the sequel, and which in its turn became a colonizing city also, and planted another city of its own name, which afterwards became wealthy and populous, to a far greater extent than the parent city, on the coast of Italy. The second of the Corinthian colonies I shall mention was the city of Corcyra or Corfu, on the island of that name. This city also soon became a mother-city or State, and planted the colony of Epidamnus on the mainland, about which it was able to go to war, as it actually did, with the Parent State. The third Corinthian colony was the city or State of Syracuse, in the island of Sicily, which very soon far outstripped its Parent State in wealth and splendour and population; being not less than fourteen English miles in circumference, at the period of its greatest glory.

The city of Agrigentum was another Grecian city in Sicily, scarcely, if at all, inferior to Syracuse; and the two insignificant Grecian States of Chalcis and Megara had each also a distinct colony, or city and district, in that island. It would seem, therefore, that Mr. Grote is decidedly in error when he speaks in the following disparaging terms of the Grecian colonies in Sicily:—

“Such were the chief establishments founded by the Greeks in Sicily during the two centuries after their first settlement in 735 B. C. \* \* \* *Their progress, though very great, during this most prosperous interval (between the foundation of Naxos in 735 B. C. to the reign of Gelon in Syracuse in 485 B. C.), is not to be compared to that of the English colonies in America; but it was nevertheless very great, and ap-*



pears greater from being concentrated as it was in and around a few cities."\*

The South of Italy was also another extensive field of Grecian colonization; and so important was it considered in this respect by the Greeks themselves, that it was commonly called *Magna Græcia*, or Greece the Greater. Naples still bears the commonplace name of New Town,† which was given it by the original Greek colonists; and, not to exhaust the patience of the reader with more numerous examples, the Greek colonies of Marseilles and Lyons in the South of France, and of Cyrene on the coast of Africa, were evidences of the presence and energy of the Greeks in these comparatively remote lands.

"The colony of Sybaris, called afterwards Thurii, in Italy, was settled by the Achæans. It was powerful and successful, had under its jurisdiction four adjacent States, possessed twenty-five cities, and could bring into the field 300,000 men, which it did in the war with its neighbours the Crotoniatæ, or inhabitants of Croton,

\* *History of Greece*. By George Grote, Esq., vol. iii. p. 491. Mr. Grote ought to have recollected that the English colonies in America, whether he refers to the original Thirteen, or to the present British North American provinces, were the colonies of a mighty empire, having an extent of domestic territory, so to speak, probably three times larger than that of Greece Proper, with perhaps four times its population; having nothing, moreover, in the shape of internal wars to distract it at home, possessing facilities for colonization incomparably superior to those of ancient Greece, and being able to concentrate its whole force in the way of colonization on any particular point; whereas the Greek colonies of Sicily were each the colony of a small insignificant State, no bigger than a second or third rate town in England, while Sicily itself was only one of the many fields of Grecian colonization. A comparison, in such cases, Mr. Grote will surely allow, is scarcely war-rantable.

† Neapolis, Naples, or New Town.

also a colony of Achæa, by whom they were completely routed, and their city destroyed."\*

Such were the mighty and magnificent results of Grecian colonization. Considering the limited extent, and comparatively small population of Greece, and especially considering the unfortunately divided state of the country, and the constant prevalence of intestine wars, it is altogether one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of man. But even all this was comparatively nothing to the mighty influence which this wonderful people acquired throughout the civilized world, after the subversion of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great. Their language then became the universal tongue of the civilized world; displacing alike the Coptic in Egypt and the Syriac in Antioch and Palmyra, while the influence of their laws and learning was felt to the utmost bounds of civilization.

The amazing extent and influence of Grecian colonization is proclaimed, in the most unmistakable manner, by the fact that the Greek, and not the Latin, language was the language of by far the greater portion of the civilized world, even when the Roman empire was at the height of its glory; for notwithstanding the universal triumph of the Roman arms, the language of the conquerors never made any progress in any country which the Greeks had colonized.† The field of Grecian colonization was the scene of the earliest and greatest triumphs of christianity. The seven apostolic churches were all planted in Grecian colonies; and the New

\* *History of the Colonization of the Free States of Antiquity.* London, 1777.

† Greek, and not Latin, was the language of the Lower Empire, that is the *Roman Empire* in the East: and for upwards of a thousand years, the throne of the Caesars was filled by men who spoke Greek.

Testament, including even the epistle addressed to the Romans themselves, was written in the Greek language, because Grecian colonization had made that language the language of the civilized world.

### SECTION III.—THE BENEFICIAL RESULTS OF GRECIAN COLONIZATION TO GREECE PROPER.

In a passage quoted by Dr. M'Culloch, in his valuable Dictionary of Commerce, the philosopher Seneca assigns three different causes for emigration in the ancient world, and particularly in ancient Greece.\* The first was civil dissensions; the second was redundancy of population; and the third was the favourable accounts which had been received of the capabilities of the particular colony to which the emigration was to be directed. As Seneca was a much better judge than we can be of the comparative influence of these causes respectively in the ancient world, we shall take them in the order in which he gives them, beginning with *civil dissensions*.

It is a remarkable fact that kingly government appears to have been generally subverted in ancient Greece, and to have been as generally succeeded by some popular form of government before the age of Grecian colonization began. The traditional leaders of the great Ionian migration, and the founders of the city of Miletus, the first of the twelve cities of the Ionian confederation of Asia Minor, were Nileus and Androclus,

\* Nec omnibus eadem causa relinquendi quærendique patriam fuit. Alios domestica seditio submovit: alios nimia superfluentis populi frequentia, ad exonerandas vires, emisit: quosdam fertilis oræ, et in majus laudatæ, fama corrumpit: alios alia causa excivit domibus suis.—Seneca. *Consol. ad Helviam*, c. 6.

the sons of Codrus, the last king of Athens.\* Now, it must be evident that, under the ill-balanced republics that succeeded the overthrow of monarchy, or, as the Greeks called it, *tyranny*, in the numerous petty States of that country, a state of things would speedily arise, of which we can have no experience, under our comparatively well-balanced representative institutions, and our more permanent forms of government. There must necessarily, under so imperfect a system, have been a perpetual struggle for place and power between the *ins* and the *outs*; and that struggle would give rise to a far more rancorous hostility between these two classes than we can have any idea of.† Society would everywhere resolve itself into two formidable factions, of which the mutual hostility would only become the more rancorous as wealth and population increased, and of which the party in opposition would not always be the only uneasy class of the two. In order to maintain their own authority, the party in power would naturally endeavour to make the yoke of their political opponents as grievous as possible, and to attach as large a portion as possible of the general population to their persons and interests.

\* In the year before Christ 502. I have copied this date from Gillies: it is surely wrong.

† Supposing that the colony of New South Wales were becoming free and independent to-morrow; and supposing that the present Colonial Oligarchy, who exist merely in virtue of Downing Street, were determined to keep their places and their power in spite of all opposition—employing the pecuniary means at their command to purchase political adherents, and to hire mercenary troops to uphold *the system*—we should have an exact picture of an ancient Grecian Oligarchy; and the necessary consequence would be that the popular party would be under the necessity of marching off in a body and forming another colony for themselves to the northward, unless in the course of a civil war, which would probably arise in the meantime, they should gain the upper hand; in which event it would be the Oligarchy who would have to march.

Such a state of things would at length become intolerable to the weaker party, who, with their friends and adherents, would seek refuge from the insufferable evils of their condition in emigration. We find accordingly that the party in the ascendant in a Grecian colony was generally opposed to the party in power in the Mother-city or State: if the Tories were *in* at Corinth, the Whigs had their turn at Corcyra.

We have a somewhat remarkable, and at the same time instructive and amusing instance of this in the case to which I have just alluded—that of the famous city or State of Corinth, and the colonial cities of Corcyra and Epidamnus. The aristocrats, it seems, were long in the ascendant at Corinth, and the democratic party accordingly resolved to emigrate, and founded the city or colony of Corcyra in the neighbouring island of Corfu. But the Corcyræans themselves, who very soon became a powerful maritime people, having eventually carried matters with too high a hand in their own city, a party of the citizens emigrated in like manner with their friends and adherents, and founded the city and State of Epidamnus on the mainland of Greece. In process of time the party who had the upper hand in Epidamnus deemed it expedient and necessary, doubtless for the public welfare, to banish certain of their own citizens who happened unfortunately to be in the political minority, and who naturally threw themselves upon the sympathies of Corcyra, their Mother-city. The Whigs of Corcyra at once espoused the cause of these unoffending and deeply injured people, and accordingly insisted upon the Tories of Epidamnus, their own colony, replacing them bodily in their offices, their honours, and their estates. This, however, the Epidamnians were by no means disposed to do; but being unable to protect their city against the powerful fleet of Corcyra,

they appealed, for assistance in their distress, to the old Tories of their Grandmother-city of Corinth, who at once declared for Epidamnus; and hence originated a regular Greek war! It cannot be denied, however, that in at once relieving any great Mother-city or State of a number of unquiet spirits, with all their discontented and disaffected friends and adherents, the process of colonization, which was thus rapid and universal all over the country, was of unspeakable advantage to the different States of Greece; as it served, in numerous instances, to preserve the public peace when there would otherwise have been fierce commotions and civil wars.

But in far more numerous instances emigration and colonization in ancient Greece must have originated in a redundancy of population. With a fine climate, a fertile soil, a flourishing colonial trade, and a popular government, population would doubtless increase, on the mainland and in the isles of Greece, with prodigious rapidity; and an outlet for that population would soon come to be considered one of the first necessities of every Grecian State. Certain portions of their territory also, as for instance Attica, and certain of the islands, being naturally sterile and unproductive, the inhabitants necessarily became a maritime and commercial people; who soon obtained a sufficient acquaintance with the capabilities of remote countries for the settlement of colonies, and to whom therefore emigration would be a far less formidable affair than to the plodding agriculturist. Grecian colonies were thus formed successively in all the distant localities enumerated above: some adventurous individual of standing and talent putting himself at the head of the movement, and organizing a numerous party among his fellow-citizens to form a settlement in some new-found-land; or the State assuming the initiative in the matter, by a decree of the Sovereign People, and

sending forth the colonists with the best wishes of their Mother-country, and with all the solemnities of religion. The Grecian colony was thus formed and organized before it embarked; and it went forth, like a swarm of bees from the parent hive, to reproduce the whole framework of society, according to the pattern of their native land, in the place of their appointed settlement, far, far away.

And what a difference there must have been in any great effort of colonization in such circumstances as these, from the miserable affair that we call colonization! In the case of the Greeks, men of all ranks in society, of all professions and occupations, went forth on the great undertaking, and staked their character and their fortunes on the issue; but they all went forth from the same Mother-city or State, and they were all perfectly acquainted with each other before they started on their noble undertaking. As an embryo community, they had all from the first the same interesting associations, and the same endearing recollections of the land they had left; they had all the same objects and interests, the same feelings and views in the land of their adoption. The sprightly and enterprising Ionian from Athens was not incommoded with the presence of the dull Bœotian from Thebes, or the plodding Dorian from the plain of Argos. Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians had all their separate colonies; and every Greek emigrant found himself on his arrival in his adopted country in the midst of his old neighbours, and countrymen, and friends. They all left the same locality in the *old* country, and they all settled together in the *new*.

Under our colonization system, people of a certain class only—people who have somehow lost their way in the world—people who have tried every thing at home and have uniformly failed—people who have already

reached, or are fast verging towards the lower walks of life—people of this kind assemble from all quarters of the three kingdoms, and meet together for the first time in some great shipping port, as, for instance, Liverpool. Unlike the companions of Æneas, they require no long navigation to carry them to the land of the Harpies; for, in all likelihood, they find them *there*; and they suffer far more from the *sharks* on land than they are ever likely to do from the sharks at sea. They pay their fare at length, as Jonah did when *he went to go unto Tarshish*; and they go down into the sides of the vessel, with hearts perhaps too full either for sleep or for tears, each as utterly unacquainted with his numerous fellow-passengers as they are with him. On arriving in their adopted country, after a few weeks' intercourse and acquaintance on board ship, they again separate for ever, one going to the north and another to the south, and a third to the west; and falling, as they now do, among utter strangers, the moral restraints of their native vicinage are gradually weakened, and perhaps completely lost.

What is termed *Government Emigration* is something equally exceptionable with all this—equally heartless. Instead of directing the emigrant ships to proceed successively to different ports in the United Kingdom—as for instance to the east and west coasts of England and Scotland, respectively, and to the north and south of Ireland—where there would at least be some chance of people emigrating in considerable numbers from the same locality, the Government Bounty emigrants are collected by a regular staff of whippers-in from all parts of the three kingdoms, and forwarded by steamboat to Plymouth—a place which nineteen out of every twenty of them have probably never heard of before—where the Government commissioners have a depôt, into which



these emigrants (many of whom are sometimes exceptionable enough) are collected from all quarters, like slaves from the interior of Africa in some great *barracoon* on the coast; the sequel being precisely the same as in the Liverpool private ships. And this is what we presume to call *colonization*, forsooth, and to compare with that of the ancient Greeks!

The third of the causes of emigration and colonization in ancient Greece was, according to Seneca, the favourable reports that were given of the new or intended colony. When the settlement was once successfully formed, it would naturally attract emigrants from the Mother-city or State, in proportion to the tidings of the success of the first adventurers; and thus all the three great divisions of the Grecian race—the Ionians, the Æolians, and the Dorians, corresponding to the English, Irish, and Scotch of our own country,—had each their whole series of colonies, both in the east and west, which would all serve as favourite centres of attraction to the adventurous youth of their respective races.

In the meantime the extensive commerce which would originate in so vast a colonial system would afford a boundless market for the various products of the national industry of Greece, and supply her looms, her workshops, her dockyards, and her furnaces, with the raw produce for her different manufactures; while the lofty fame of her statesmen and generals, her historians and philosophers, her orators and poets, her architects and sculptors and painters, would fill her academies with the ingenuous youth of every remote colony, and concentrate upon her the admiration of the world. In such a state of things crime would be comparatively rare; for there would be plenty of employment at remunerating wages for all classes, while all would enjoy

in comparative abundance both the necessaries and the comforts of life. In short, I can conceive no substantial advantage of colonization which Greece Proper must not have enjoyed in a very high degree in the midst of her vast colonial empire; and it is mortifying to reflect that while Greece so nobly fulfilled her evident and undoubted mission in the ancient world, as the great colonizing power of antiquity, that Power which has so evidently been called by Divine Providence to occupy the same distinguished place in the modern world, and which enjoys facilities for the purpose of which the loftiest imaginations of Greece could never have dreamt, should have hitherto neglected in great measure to follow her bright example, and failed for the most part to realize the same magnificent results.

#### SECTION IV.—BRITISH COLONIZATION BEFORE THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

Without adverting, for the present, to the colonization-practice of Spain, Portugal and Holland, in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it may not be unprofitable to contrast, with this product of the isles of Greece, the vaunted colonization of Britain, both before and since the war of American Independence. To begin then with the colonies of New England in America, these, as I have already observed, were planted during the twenty years that elapsed from the year 1620 to the year 1640; the original colonists consisting of about twenty thousand persons, who had fled for liberty of conscience to the American wilderness, from the tyranny of Charles the First, and the relentless intolerance of his minister Laud. The fact of so extensive an emigration having taken place, within so limited a period, and so near to our own

times,—without referring to the enormous emigration from the United Kingdom, produced by the Irish Famine of 1847, and the Gold Discoveries in Australia of a still later period—may show that there is no antecedent improbability in the common historical account of the great Ionian migration; for under a strong impelling power in the Mother-country, like the persecution of the Puritans in England, the same effect would doubtless have followed. With a few insignificant exceptions, no further emigration took place from the Mother-country to New England till the War of Independence. Bancroft, the American historian, estimates the population of New England, at the Revolution of 1688, at seventy-five thousand.

Virginia was the oldest English colony on the continent of America. It was originally planted during the reign of James I., in the year 1606; but in the year 1642, its population did not exceed 20,000; and according to Bancroft, it amounted only to 50,000 at the Revolution of 1688. At the usual rate of increase in America,—doubling in thirty years,—this amount of population would give 640,000 in the year 1792; which must have been pretty near the actual amount, for in the year 1800 the population of Virginia amounted to 880,200,—of whom, however, about one-half were negroes! How insignificant, therefore, must the whole amount of British emigration to the colony of Virginia, —*the Old Dominion*, as it used to be called—have been, previous to the era of Independence, when the whole white population of the country, with all its increase, after a hundred and seventy years, amounted only to 320,000?

It is commonly alleged that the original colonists of Virginia were cavaliers, or gentlemen, and not Round Heads, or plebeians,, like the Puritan colonists of New

England ; who differed from the Virginian colonists in this important particular, that they almost uniformly carried their wives and families along with them to that country. Whatever they were, there was so large a number of males, and so serious a want of female population in the young colony, that the Virginia Company in England had to send out whole ship-loads of young women—I presume from the workhouses or other similar establishments of the period, as in the case of the recent Irish Female Orphan Emigration to New South Wales,—to supply the deficiency ; and these young women were literally sold to their future husbands, the gentlemen and cavaliers of Virginia(!), at so many pounds of tobacco each, to repay the Company the cost of their passage out. There was another species of emigration to Virginia and the American colonies generally, which had been long in practice before the War of Independence,—it was that of shipmasters carrying out labouring people, or adventurers, who were unable to pay their own passage, and selling their services for a certain period to the colonists, after their arrival, to reimburse themselves for the outlay ; people of this class being called *Redemptioners*. But the want of labour was so great in the American colonies, and the flow of voluntary emigration so limited, that the atrocious practice of kidnapping for the colonies was long and systematically had recourse to in the seaport towns of the United Kingdom ; unfortunate people, both male and female, from the country chiefly, being allured on board ships ready for sea, and carried off and sold for a time for their passage money, like the *Redemptioners*. And last of all, there was the convict emigration to Virginia and the other American colonies, which amounted for some time previous to the War of Independence to about two thousand annually. And yet,

with all these sources of supply, so little creditable to Great Britain as a great colonizing country, the entire white population of Virginia did not exceed 320,000, even including foreigners and their offspring, at the era of the American war; that is, at the close of one hundred and seventy years of British colonization! The original amount of British emigration required to produce such a result after so long an interval, must therefore have been exceedingly small.

The colony of New York was originally a conquest from the Dutch, during the reign of Charles the Second; and the number of its inhabitants, who were consequently all Dutchmen, at the period of its capture, was upwards of ten thousand.\* To these there were subsequently added a number of German Protestant refugees from the Palatinate, and also of French Huguenots, who had been driven from their country after the Repeal of the Edict of Nantes. So considerable indeed was this latter infusion that the French language continued to be spoken in certain localities in the neighbourhood of New York till the war of the Revolution.†

\* This circumstance alone is quite sufficient to account for the extremely limited British emigration to the colony of New York till the War of Independence, when a new order of things commenced. Previous to that period, it was a Dutch colony in reality, although a British in name and in government; and the British people do not like to settle in foreign colonies under any circumstances, as the state of the Cape colony, of Lower Canada, and of the Mauritius, sufficiently proves to the present day.

† Governor Hunter carried out about two thousand Palatines, as they were then called, or German Protestant refugees, to the colony of New York, in the reign of Queen Anne; for the English Emigration of that period was very limited. There was a French Huguenot agricultural settlement at that time about twenty miles from the city; and the emigrants, in writing home to their persecuted friends in France, informed them, that "after their week's labour was over, they regularly walked to New York every Satur-

The colony of New Jersey was originally settled in great measure by emigrants from Scotland, who had been driven from their country by persecution; with whom were incorporated a body of Polish Protestants whose emigration had had a similar origin. The Polish names are common in this part of America to the present day.

The origin and character of the settlement of Penn is well known; although it is a gross injustice to the memory of many other excellent and Christian men, connected with the original colonization of America, as well as a very common error, to suppose that he was either the first or the only founder of a colony in that country who purchased the lands he occupied from the Indians. "Not only" observes the American historian, whom I have already quoted so frequently, "were all the lands occupied by the colonists [of New England] fairly purchased from their Indian owners, but, in some parts of the country, the lands were subject to quit-

day afternoon, to attend divine service with their countrymen, in the French Protestant church there, twice every Sabbath; and rising *a great while before day* on the Monday morning, they walked back to their own settlement again, to resume the labours of the week;" adding "What a privilege!"

Quis talia fando,  
Temperet a lachrymis?

It was the extensive prevalence of such principles as these, in the original emigration to that country, that has formed the cement of the Republican Institutions of America: it is the want of such a cement that renders precisely similar institutions a mere wall built with untempered mortar in Mexico and elsewhere. The American has therefore no reason to fear for the stability of his social fabric. *His foundation is in the holy mountains.*—*Psalm lxxxvii. 1.*

rents to the Indians," "which," says Belknap, in 1784, "are annually paid to their posterity."\*

The colony of Pennsylvania absorbed a small colony of Swedes on the bank of the Delaware River; and, in common with all the other States to the South, with the exception of Georgia, it received a comparatively large number of French Huguenots—a people who had unquestionably a much larger share in the colonization of America than is generally supposed.† In the reign of Queen Anne the French population of Charleston, in South Carolina, was as large as the English; and it is a remarkable fact, which I ascertained myself in America, that of the seven Presidents of the American Congress during the revolutionary war, and before the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States, not fewer than four were of French Huguenot descent. The number of Germans also who had settled, from time to time, in the provinces to the southward of New England, before the War of Independence, was very great; acts of naturalisation, on behalf of German Protestants, being of constant recurrence in the proceedings of the legislatures of all these provinces during the entire colonial period. In short, there is reason to be-

\* Grahame's *Hist. of the United States of North America*. London, 1836, vol. i. p. 412.

† Charles the Second contributed from his own privy purse a sum sufficient to defray the cost of the passage out to Carolina of two ship-loads of French Protestants. Charles is commonly accused of having spent upon his mistresses the money collected at the instance of Cromwell and his secretary Milton for the relief of the Protestants of the Piedmontese Valleys; but I presume part of it went this way, and there is no necessity for making the bad man worse than he was. His sending out these unfortunate French Protestants was unquestionably a good action, even if he never performed another in his life.

lieve that as large a proportion as one-third of all the original European settlers in the United States to the southward of New England, previous to the revolutionary war, consisted of foreigners; including the ten thousand Dutch, of the era of Charles the Second, in the State of New York.\*

It is evident, therefore, that, up to the War of American Independence, the entire amount of emigration from Great Britain to America had been paltry in the extreme; considering the extent, the population, and the resources of the Mother-country.† A few distinguished

\* From the following statement of one of the more prominent actors in the American Revolution, it would appear that the estimate I have formed of the amount of British emigration to America before that period, is rather over than under the truth. "Not one-third of the inhabitants, even of this province, (Pennsylvania) are of English descent." *Common Sense*, by Thomas Paine, A.M. Philadelphia, 1776.

† The whole population of New England, which amounted, in the year 1790, to 1,009,522, sprung, with only a very few exceptions, from the twenty thousand Puritan emigrants of the reign of Charles the First. But the colony of Virginia was an older colony still than New England, while the Carolinas were settled in the reign of Charles the Second. Supposing then that the rate of increase was as rapid in the middle and southern colonies as it was in New England, it would have required little more than 40,000 emigrants to have been settled in these colonies before the middle of the seventeenth century to have called into existence the whole remaining American population at the commencement of the War of Independence, or rather at the first census of the United States in 1790. Bancroft estimates the whole population of the American colonies at the Revolution of 1688 at 200,000, which was distributed as follows, viz.—New England, 75,000; New York, 20,000; New Jersey, 10,000; Pennsylvania and Delaware, 12,000; Maryland, 25,000; Virginia, 50,000; the Carolinas, 8,000. In the year 1790, the population of the United States amounted to 3,921,326, of whom 697,697 were negro slaves; the whole population at the commencement of the war being, according to Mr. McGregor, only 2,500,000. Deducting from this latter estimate



leaders, such as the Puritan chiefs in New England, Lord Baltimore in Maryland, William Penn in Pennsylvania, and a few others, started up indeed, from time to time, with their respective schemes, and either through their personal influence or the peculiar circumstances of the times, gave a slight impulse to the public mind in favour of their particular projects: but under the depressing and deadening influences to be afterwards indicated, this temporary excitement soon died away; the subject of colonization never got hold of the national mind, except in the way of dislike and aversion; it never became a matter of public interest or concernment to any extent; and although a few families and individuals were still emigrating to the different colonies from some part or other of the Mother-country every year, the total amount of such emigration was at no time so considerable as to affect the condition of the United Kingdoms, either for good or for evil, in any conceivable manner or degree. Instead, therefore, of realizing, to anything like the extent to which they might otherwise have been realized, the proper and legitimate objects of colonization, from the possession of her American colonies, I question whether the condition of the Mother-country would have been materially affected in any way, except perhaps in the temporary stoppage of the usual supply of tobacco, had the whole of the Thirteen Colonies been annihilated, at any period from their first settlement till the War of Independence.

It is equally evident that a large proportion of the actual amount of British emigration to America, previous to the War of Independence, was the effect of

half a million for slaves, and an equal number for the descendants of foreigners, there remains at the very utmost only 1,500,000 for British colonization with all its increase for 170 years! How extremely contemptible is such a result!

religious persecution at home; and it must not be forgotten that another portion of it consisted of persons who had been banished from England for their crimes, and who were then sent to America, just as they have been since, in much larger numbers, to Australia, merely to be got rid of.

All that the British government ever did, with the single exception I shall notice immediately, for the promotion of British colonization in America, previous to the revolutionary war, consisted in giving charters of incorporation to joint stock companies, or to such private proprietors as had interest enough to procure them from the Court, for the planting of colonies. In the case of Georgia, indeed, a small Parliamentary grant was conceded for the formation of that colony, about the year 1732, at the instance of its founder, General Oglethorpe; but this I believe was the only instance previous to the War of Independence, in which the British Government had ever done anything for the promotion of colonization in the extensive territory comprised within the thirteen original colonies of America.

#### SECTION V.—BRITISH COLONIZATION SINCE THE AMERICAN WAR.

I have already observed that we have no right to consider either Lower Canada or the Cape of Good Hope *British* colonies, or to take credit in any way for their colonization. As well might Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, have considered any of the Carthaginian settlements in Sicily, which he had reduced under his dominion, *Greek* colonies. The amount of *British* colonization in these countries is quite insignificant, and can in no respect be considered as a distinct element in the calculation we subjoin. The number of French colonists

in Upper Canada is probably as large as that of English, Scotch, and Irish in Lower Canada; and there are probably as many Germans in the Australian colonies as the whole of the British-born inhabitants of the Cape Colony.

In estimating the results of British colonization during the whole period of our national existence as a colonizing power, we are scarcely warranted to take into account the enormous emigration of the last few years, produced by the Irish Famine of 1847, and the Gold Discoveries of a later period in Australia. The emigration originating in these anomalous events is, in no respect, to be placed to the credit of Great Britain as a colonizing power. It should rather be regarded as the result of an extraordinary interposition of Divine Providence, to ensure the accomplishment of a great national work, of unspeakable importance to the whole civilized world, which the British Government and nation had till then neglected. Let us therefore take, as the period of our estimate, that of the Decennial Census of 1841; especially as we shall afterwards have occasion to compare the results of American colonization, with those of our own efforts in this particular department, from the era of American Independence till that period. The following is the Census of the population of the British North American and Australian Colonies respectively at the period referred to.

*British North American Colonies.*

Upper Canada .....	486,055
Newfoundland .....	75,094
Nova Scotia and Cape Breton.....	178,237
New Brunswick .....	156,142
Prince Edward's Island .....	47,034
	<hr/>
Total population in 1842.....	942,562

*Australian Colonies.*

New South Wales, including Port Phillip, in 1841 .....	128,718
Van Dieman's Land, 31st December, 1844 ...	57,420
South Australia, 31st December, 1844.....	17,366
Western Australia, or Swan River, in 1848...	4,483
New Zealand, including 1580 soldiers, in 1848	10,483
	<hr/>
	218,447
	<hr/>
Total population of the British Colonies at the periods indicated .....	1,161,009

"The entire population of the Australian group of colonies," according to Mr. Porter, in his *Progress of the Nation*, "amounted at the end of 1848, to 333,764;" but it would obviously be unfair to compare the amount for that year with the result of American colonization in 1840.

Such then was the amount of British colonization, properly so called, at the periods indicated. How extremely insignificant, when contrasted on the one hand with the population and resources of the Mother-country, and the unprecedented facilities for colonization which it possesses beyond any other country on the face of the earth; and on the other with the wonderful and successful efforts of the ancient Greeks in the same field of heroic exertion! I question whether the population of the city of Syracuse alone, which was merely one of the many colonies of the comparatively small City and State of Corinth, was not as large as the whole amount of British colonization properly so called in the year 1848. Again, the entire population of the Australian colonies, including New Zealand, was not greater in that year than that of the single city of Glasgow in our

own country. As to the Grecian colonial population of Asia Minor, it was, probably, as early as the days of Herodotus, considerably greater than that of the Mother-country. In the days of the apostles, it was doubtless ten times greater.

Besides, there is a most important point of difference to be observed, in by far the greater portion of the British colonization of the present century, as compared with that of the ancient Greeks. Our colonization, up to the period indicated, consisted for the most part of mere paupers, driven from their native country by sheer want, and importing into their adopted country nothing but labour of the rudest description, with characters often debased in the downward progress of the masses, from comparative comfort to the confines of starvation. It was one of the items of complaint of the late Legislative Council of New South Wales that "Our territorial revenue, diminished as it is by a most mistaken policy, is in a great measure confined to the introduction among us of people unsuited to our wants, and in many instances the outpourings of the poor houses and Unions of the United Kingdom, instead of being applied in directing to this colony a stream of vigorous and efficient labour, calculated to elevate the character of our industrial population." Grecian colonization, on the contrary, consisted of people of all ranks of society; and the humblest of these colonists were, for a reason which I shall state in the sequel, of much higher standing in society than the great majority of ours. There are people even in this age of refinement so low in the social scale, that they cannot be made to rise to a higher level; and it is positively dangerous to any community to allow whole masses of the people, as has been the case in many instances in the United Kingdom, to reach so hopeless a condition. Mere paupers make but

very indifferent colonists anywhere; and the Greeks understood the art of colonization so well, that they never attempted it. To tell the real truth, however, they practised that art so successfully, that they escaped both the evil itself and the danger to society which the neglect of it is sure to occasion, and from which the United Kingdom has hitherto suffered so deeply, as it will continue to do till we alter our plan.

Another particular, in which our colonization system differs from that of the Greeks, is the large amount of convict colonization which characterizes our system. Since the year 1787, Great Britain has transported to the Australian colonies upwards of 100,000 convicts. There was nothing of the kind known among the ancient Greeks. Their colonists were always freemen—the freest of the free and the bravest of the brave. But how did they get such people to colonize with, and in such numbers, too, under a system of morals and religion confessedly so inferior to ours? And how were they not incommoded with that immense accumulation of crime and of a criminal population, which almost compels us to form convict colonies? These are very important questions, which well deserve an answer.

#### SECTION VI.—IS COLONIZATION ONE OF THE LOST ARTS?

Previous to the Gold Discoveries of 1851, when a new and unprecedented impulse was given to society throughout the British Empire, it seemed to be the general impression that, like several others of the useful arts of life, that were long successfully practised by the ancients, but are utterly unknown to the moderns, colonization, that noblest of all the arts, had been entirely lost; and the comparative results we have given above

of Grecian and British colonization are surely sufficient to prove that the idea was well founded. For whole centuries in succession, colonization served to carry off the redundant population of Greece, and to secure plenty of employment at remunerating wages, and abundance of all things for those who remained. Now, had British colonization previous to the Gold Discoveries ever had the slightest effect on the enormous redundancy of the population of Britain, with the single exception of the recent depopulation of Ireland—a fact, taking it with all its attendant circumstances, in the highest degree discreditable to any civilized country? Had it done anything to ensure to the myriads of labourers, and artisans, and operatives of all classes, “a fair day’s wages for a fair day’s work?” For the redundant population of the higher and middle classes of society, for whom an eligible outlet is as prime a necessity of life as it is for the most unskilled labourers in the land, British colonization had done nothing whatever. And what had it done in the way of carrying off the dangerous classes of society of all grades, from the Parliamentary agitator to the humblest socialist and leveller in the land? Why, with the exception of those whom the discovery of gold in Australia has disposed of, they are all there yet, ready for anything that may present itself in the mysterious future! It had done something indeed in the way of showing what might be done under a system at all characterised by common sense and common honesty, for the creation of a market for the produce of the Mother-country, and for raising raw material for her manufactures. But the trifle that was actually done in either way, in comparison with what might have been done, was perfectly contemptible. It was quite fair, therefore, to regard colonization on a

system at all adequate to the urgent necessities of the case, as one of "the lost arts."

It was so regarded at least by some of the ablest writers of the day. Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, one of these writers, very justly speaks of our national system of colonization in the following disparaging terms :—

"To use a heedless expression of the *Quarterly Review*, it renders the colonies 'unfit abodes for any but convicts, paupers, and desperate or needy persons.' It cures those who emigrate in spite of it, of their *maladie du pays*. It is the one great impediment to the overflow of Britain's excessive capital and labour into waste fields, which, if cultivated into new markets, would increase the home field of employment for capital and labour. It has placed colonization itself among *the lost arts*, and is thus a negative cause of that excessive competition of capital with capital, and labour with labour, in a limited field of employment for both, which is now the condition of England and the difficulty of her statesmen."

"It is remarkable," observes the Rev. Dr. (now Bishop) Hinds, late Dean of Carlisle, in a paper embodied in Mr. Wakefield's recent work, "that notwithstanding the greater facilities which modern times afford for the settlement and growth of colonies, the ancients were more successful with theirs than we are with ours. If we look back on the history of Greek emigration especially, we find many ruinous enterprises indeed, owing sometimes to the situation for the new settlement being ill-chosen, sometimes to the difficulties and dangers of rude and unskilful navigation; sometimes again, to the imprudence of settlers, or the jealousy of neighbours embroiling the infant state in quarrels before it was strong enough to protect itself.



But supposing the colony to escape accidents of this kind, it was generally so efficient in itself, so well organized and equipped, as to thrive; and this at far less cost, it would seem, and with less looking after, on the part of the parent state, than is usually bestowed (and often bestowed in vain) on our colonial establishments. After a few years, a colony was seen, not unfrequently, to rise into a condition of maturity that afforded support or threatened rivalry to the state that had lately called it into existence.

“Our colonies are, in fact, far less liable to those accidents which have been alluded to as occasionally interfering with the success of those of ancient times, both from the greater stock of useful knowledge, and from the greater power and wealth possessed by those who now send out colonies. And yet how many instances are there of modern European states, carefully providing for a new plantation of its people—expending on it ten times as much money and labour as sufficed in earlier ages; and still this tender plant of theirs will be stunted and sickly; and, if it does not die, must be still tended and nursed like an exotic. At length, after years of anxious looking after, it is found to have cost the parent state more than it is worth; or, perhaps, as in the case of the United States, we have succeeded in rearing a child that disowns its parent—that has acquired habits and feelings, and a tone and character incompatible with that political *storge* which colonies formerly are represented as entertaining, through generations for the Mother-country.”

And again,—

“Want presses a part of the population of an old-established community such as ours. *Those who are suffering under this pressure* are encouraged to go and settle themselves elsewhere, in a country whose soil,

perhaps, has been ascertained to be fertile, its climate healthy, and its other circumstances favourable for the enterprise. The protection of our arms, and the benefit of free commercial intercourse with us and with other nations, are held out as inducements to emigrate. We are liberal, perhaps profuse, in our grants of aid from the public purse. We moreover furnish for our helpless community a government, and perhaps laws; and appoint over them some tried civil or military servant of the state, to be succeeded by others of the same high character. Our newspapers are full of glowing pictures of this land of milk and honey. All who are needy and discontented—all who seek in vain at home for independence and comfort and future wealth, are called upon to seize the golden moment, and repair to it.

“ ‘Eja!

Quid statis? Nolint. Atque licet esse beatis!”

Those who do go, have, for the most part, made a reluctant choice between starvation and exile. They go, often indeed with their imaginations full of vague notions of future riches, for which they are nothing the better: but they go with a consciousness of being *exiled*; and when they arrive at their destination it is an exile.”

And again, after alluding to the wonderful superiority of the Greeks in the art of colonization, the worthy bishop adds,—

“If the art of founding such colonies as theirs be indeed one of the *artes perditæ*, it is well to be sensible of the difference and the cause of it, that we may at least not deceive ourselves by calculating on producing similar effects by dissimilar and inadequate means.

## SECTION VII.—QUACK SALVE FOR BAD SORES; OR, THE TREE OF ENGLISH SOCIETY TO BE TRANSPLANTED TO THE COLONIES!

And what is the *panacea* which this worthy bishop, *who has evidently had no colonial experience*, proposes for the remedy or cure of these serious national evils? We must allow him to state it in his own words:—

“The main cause of this difference may be stated in few words. We send out colonies of the limbs, without the belly and the head;—of needy persons, many of them mere paupers, or even criminals; colonies made up of *a single class* of persons in the community, and that the most helpless, and the most unfit to perpetuate our national character, and to become the fathers of a race whose habits of thinking and feeling shall correspond to those which, in the meantime, we are cherishing at home. The ancients, on the contrary, sent out *a representation of the parent state—colonists from all ranks*. We stock the farm with creeping and climbing plants, without any trees of firmer growth for them to entwine round. A hop-ground left without poles, the plants matted confusedly together, and scrambling on the ground in tangled heaps, with here and there some clinging to rank thistles and hemlocks, would be an apt emblem of a modern colony. They began by nominating to the honourable office of captain or leader of the colony, one of the chief men, if not the chief man of the state,—like the queen-bee leading the workers. Monarchies provided a prince of the blood royal; an aristocracy its choicest nobleman; a democracy its most influential citizen. These naturally carried along with them some of their own station in life,—their companions and friends; some of their immediate dependents also—of those between themselves and the lowest class; and were encouraged in various ways to do so. The

lowest class again followed with alacrity, because they found themselves moving *with*, and not *away from* the state of society in which they had been living. It was the same social and political union under which they had been born and bred; and to prevent any contrary impression being made, the utmost solemnity was observed in transferring the rights of pagan superstition. They carried with them their gods—their festivals—their games; all, in short, that held together, and kept entire the fabric of society as it existed in the parent state. Nothing was left behind that could be moved,—of all that the heart or eye of an exile misses. The new colony was made to appear as if time or chance had reduced the whole community to smaller dimensions, leaving it still essentially the same home and country to its surviving members. It consisted of a general contribution of members from all classes, and so became, on its first settlement, a mature state, with all the component parts of that which sent it forth. It was a transfer of population, therefore, which gave rise to no sense of degradation, as if the colonists were thrust out from a higher to a lower description of community.”

Again, speaking of the emigration of the humbler classes—“the uneducated clown, the drudging mechanic”—the bishop proceeds:—

“He has been accustomed, perhaps, to see the squire’s house and park; and he misses this object, not only when his wants, which found relief there, recur; but simply because he, from a child, has been accustomed to see gentry in the land.”

And how is this desideratum to be supplied, that a veritable colonial aristocracy may exist, so that the “uneducated clown, or drudging mechanic,” may enjoy the interesting and enlivening prospect of a “squire’s house and park, and of gentry in the land” of his adop-

tion? Why, the bishop shall again answer the question himself:—

“Offer an English gentleman of influence, and competent fortune (though such, perhaps, may fall short of his wishes) a sum of money, however large, to quit his home permanently and take a share in the foundation of a colony; and the more he possesses of those generous traits of character which qualify him for the part he would have to act, the less likely is he to accept the bribe. But offer him a patent of nobility for himself and his heirs,—offer him an hereditary station in the government of the future community; and there will be some chance of his acceding to the proposal. And he would not go alone. He would be followed by some few of those who are moving in the same society with him,—near relations, intimate friends. He would be followed by some, too, of an intermediate grade between him and the mass of needy persons that form the majority of the colony,—his intermediate dependents,—persons connected with them, or with the members of his household. And if not *one*, but some half-dozen gentlemen of influence were thus tempted out, the sacrifice would be less felt by each, and the numbers of respectable emigrants which their united influence would draw after them so much greater. A colony so formed would fairly represent English society, and every new comer would have his own class to fall into; and to whatever class he belonged he would find its relation to the others, and the support derived from the others, much the same as in the parent country. There would then be little more in Van Dieman’s Land, or in Canada, revolting to the habits and feelings of an emigrant than if he had merely shifted his residence from Sussex to Cumberland or Devonshire,—little more than a change of natural scenery.”

And again the worthy bishop adds:—

“The desirable consummation of the plan would be, that a specimen or sample, as it were, of all that goes to make up society in the parent country should *at once* be transferred to its colony. Instead of sending out bad seedlings, and watching their uncertain growth, *let us try whether a perfect tree will not bear transplanting*: if it succeeds, we shall have saved so much expense and trouble in the rearing; as soon as it strikes its roots into the new soil it will shift for itself.”

To the same effect, the late Charles Buller, Esq., M. P., in his famous speech on Systematic Colonization, delivered in the House of Commons on the 6th April, 1843, insists upon the same specific of a complete transference of the whole fabric of English society to the colonies.\*

“If you wish colonies to be rendered generally useful to all classes in the Mother-country—if you wish them to be prosperous, to reflect back the civilization, and habits, and feelings of their parent stock, and to be and long to remain integral parts of your empire—*care should be taken that society should be carried out in something of the form in which it is seen at home—that it should contain something, at least, of all the elements that go to make it up here, and that it should continue under those influences that are found effectual for keeping us together in harmony.* On such principles alone have the foundations of successful colonies been laid. Neither Phœnician, nor Greek, nor Roman, nor Spaniard—no, nor our own great forefathers—when they laid the foundations of an European society on the continent, and in the islands of the Western World, ever dreamed of colonizing with one class of society by

\* Inserted as an Appendix to Mr. Wakefield's work.

itself, and that the most helpless for shifting for itself. The foremost men of the ancient republics led forth their colonies; each expedition was in itself an epitome of the society which it left; the solemn rites of religion blessed its departure from its home; and it bore with it the images of its country's gods, to link it for ever by a common worship to its ancient home. The government of Spain sent its dignified clergy out with some of its first colonists. The noblest families in Spain sent their youngest sons to settle in Hispaniola, and Mexico, and Peru. Raleigh quitted a brilliant court, and the highest spheres of political ambition, in order to lay the foundation of the colony of Virginia; Lord Baltimore and the best Catholic families founded Maryland; Penn was a courtier before he became a colonist; a set of noble proprietors established Carolina, and intrusted the framing of its constitution to John Locke; the highest hereditary rank in this country below the peerage was established in connexion with the settlement of Nova Scotia, and such gentlemen as Sir Harry Vane, Hampden, and Cromwell did not disdain the prospect of a colonial career. In all these cases the emigration was of every class. The mass, as does the mass everywhere, contributed its labour alone; but they were encouraged by the presence, guided by the counsels, and supported by the means of the wealthy and educated, whom they had been used to follow and honour in their own country. In the United States the constant and large migration from the old to the new states is a migration of every class; the middle classes go in quite as large proportion as the labouring; the most promising of the educated youth are the first to seek the new career. And hence it is that society sets itself down complete in all its parts in the back settlements in the United States; that every political, and social, and religious institution

of the old society is found in the new at the outset; that every liberal profession is abundantly supplied; and that, as Captain Marryat remarks, you find in a town of three or four years' standing, in the back part of New York or Ohio, almost every luxury of the old cities."

In short, Mr. Buller's *panacea* is precisely the same as the Bishop's—the tree of English society must be carefully taken up, with a good ball of earth round the roots, and transplanted whole and entire to Canada or Australia. I suspect, however, that both the Bishop and Mr. Buller got this tree originally from the Wakefield Nursery; for it was generally understood that, in the year 1840, when the article of which the following is an extract was published in the *Colonial Gazette*, on the 21st of May, of that year, Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield was the mainspring and chief supporter of that journal:—

“It has been mooted of late years, whether colonization be not one of the lost arts. The question was suggested by a comparison between the signal advancement of the colonies of Ancient Greece, which commonly equalled, and sometimes surpassed, their Parent States in less than a century, and the slow progress of modern colonization towards wealth and greatness. But the question was solved as soon as asked: if the art of colonization were lost it has been recovered, by the inquiry which has made known the cause of rapid advancement in the one case, and of stagnation in the other.

“In ancient colonization the powers of society were transplanted complete. The colony was matured before its departure, by the most careful preparation; it comprised all ranks and classes—the most eminent citizens in war and learning; a martial army for land or sea; and abundance of slaves, as the means of ample produc-



tion. It carried with it, too, renowned teachers for intended schools; and the sacred fire, which was religiously preserved, for temples to be built. Its removal was like the transplanting of a full-grown tree, with sufficient precautions for its growth in a new situation; so that the only change was the change of place.

“Modern colonization, on the other hand, has, for the most part, been a loose scramble, and, at best, very defective in some important particulars. A good half, it has been reckoned, of the settlements which have emanated from modern Europe, actually perished from want of foresight and preparation; and the most prosperous of them have exhibited a long struggle of a moral or economical kind, which might have been averted by the adoption of the Greek principle of forecast and completeness.”

This idea, which passed for a profoundly original one at the time, *took* remarkably well in the United Kingdom. It made the complete round of the British periodical press, and served, like the celebrated Paganini's single fiddlestring, as the cord on which every “able editor” in the land, whether metropolitan or provincial, played off his “articles,” or “series of articles,” on “Systematic Colonization,” forsooth! explaining, till the thing became perfectly nauseous, that what *he* meant by “colonization” was not “emigration,” or a mere “shovelling out of paupers;” but the transplantation to the colonies of the whole tree of English society and civilization, roots and all. It may be taken for granted, therefore, that, in the flourishing settlement of *No-man's-Land*, which was doubtless formed about that period, on the newly-discovered principle of colonization, this tree will be found growing with remarkable luxuriance; so that the famous Arabian “bird called the Roc” will build its nest every year in its topmost

branches, while that ancient mariner, "Sinbad the Sailor," will be seen reposing under its shade.

The fact is, this idea of the transplantation to a colony of the whole tree of English society, is the merest fallacy imaginable. It has no foundation whatever either in reason or in experience; and the circumstance of its having *taken* so remarkably at the time it was put forth, only shows how exceedingly gullible both the press and the people of England uniformly are on all subjects relating to the colonies. The truth is they see and feel universally that they are all wrong somehow, and "out of order" in their colonial system; and they catch at any Morrison's or Holloway's pills that may be offered them to "put them to rights." And when such national "pills" are duly "gilded," and advertised, by men of mark in the world, like the late Mr. Buller, Bishop Hinds, and Mr. Wakefield, who is there who would not provide himself with a *four and sixpenny box*?

The simple truth is, the tree of English society is incapable of transplantation to any colony under the sun. It would never stand the salt water. It would be sure to lose its vegetative power in crossing the Line. And if it lived at all to reach Australia or New Zealand, it would soon wither and die in the midst of the far stronger and healthier indigenous vegetation.

The idea of the transplantation of the tree of English society to the colonies proceeds on the notable assumption that, if such a transplantation took place, the different parts of society—the trunk, the roots, the branches, and the leaves—would preserve the same relative proportions to each other, and maintain the same relative distances as in the parent soil. Now any person who has had the slightest experience knows that the very reverse of this is the fact. Suppose, for instance, that the population of a whole English county

could be transplanted—each individual with the precise amount of property and qualifications he possesses at home—to some favourable locality, comprising perhaps a million of acres of land of average quality in Australia, the goodly tree of English society would be nowhere recognizable in a single twelvemonth ; the relative proportions of its different parts would be hopelessly destroyed, and the relative distances perhaps in no instance preserved. The man who had carried out plenty of money with him, without the requisite ability to lay it out advantageously, would be sure to lose it, if not in extravagant living, at least in unnecessarily expensive improvements, and in unprofitable and ruinous speculations ; while “ the uneducated clown,” Joe Tomkins, perhaps, who commenced as a day labourer, and had reared a comfortable cottage for his family with his own hands on the bit of ground he had purchased with his first savings, would very soon work himself up into the possession of a well-cultivated and well-stocked colonial farm ; and as he looked around him on his rapidly increasing property, and his fat white-haired urchins of colonial children playing happily around him, instead of being oppressed with the absence of “ the squire’s house and park,” about which the worthy Bishop fancies he must be perpetually dreaming, he will have learned to sing, what was once the old English, but is now the colonial, song—

“ When Adam delved and Eve span,  
Where was then the gentleman ?”

“ Ha ! but I am much mistaken if that is not the old squire himself, riding up leisurely among the trees yonder, on his old racer. He has been spending a great deal of money to no good purpose in draining a swamp, and has, unfortunately, got rather behind. He is coming I dare say to ask some assistance from Tomkins, who

was formerly a common labourer in his parish in England, and often very badly off. He used then to call him Joe; but times are a little changed now. I will just make a note of their conversation.

*Joe Tomkins.*—Good morrow, Squire.

*Squire.*—Good morning, Mr. Tomkins! Pray, would you oblige me with the loan of one of your teams for a day or two, to help me in with my stuff; for these fellows are leaving me in dozens for the diggings, and we are sadly behind with everything?

*Joe Tomkins.*—With all my heart, Squire; I'll send you two of my lads, with a couple of teams; for we have got all *in* here, and can help a neighbour at a pinch.

*Squire.*—Thank you! Thank you! Mr. Tomkins."

The idea, therefore, that colonization, properly so called, bears any resemblance in its nature and results to the transplantation of a full-grown tree from its native soil in England to some favourable field beyond seas, is utterly untenable; being based on an assumption which is contrary alike to reason and to uniform experience. What then, it may be asked, does colonization resemble? Why, suppose a chemist should take a handful of chemical salts, all of different component parts and qualities, and throw them all together into some common solvent, say boiling water,—they will all dissolve, and nothing but the pure element will appear for a time to the naked eye. But as the water cools and evaporates, a number of specks, or centre-points of crystallization, will appear throughout the liquid; and these will gradually attract the floating particles of congenial character, till the whole mass arranges itself into new forms of crystallization, as perfect and beautiful as the first, but in all likelihood totally different in their component parts and qualities. In like manner, take people in any number from all classes of society in

the Mother-country,—from the prince to the peasant,—and set them down together upon the shore of some colony or new-found-land, the original qualities and proportions of the different component parts of the mass will soon disappear; society, so to speak, will assume a new form of crystallization, exhibiting totally different phases and qualities from the first; and nature's own aristocracy will rise to the surface in the process, and assume, by universal consent, the place to which it is entitled. For it is pre-eminently absurd, and contrary to all experience, to suppose that society can possibly exist long in any country without exhibiting *heads* as well as *tails*. With the permission, therefore, of Mr. Wakefield, Bishop Hinds, and the executors of the late Mr. Buller, I will hew down this beautiful tree of theirs, and *burn it off*, as it stands very much in the way of efficient colonization.

Before doing so, however, I must have one word more with the Bishop about the notable expedient of creating an aristocracy for the colonies, which he suggests as a *sine qua non* towards efficient colonization. This is the more necessary, as the idea has recently been started in New South Wales; where it has been seriously proposed, by Mr. W. C. Wentworth and others, that an order of Colonial Nobility should be created by Her Majesty, to be attached to the possession of a certain amount of property, and to be transmissible by hereditary descent; and that out of these rich and rare materials an Upper House of Legislature should be constructed, on the good old hereditary principle; it being a well-ascertained fact that the ability to make wise and good laws for any people is transmissible by natural descent from any person who owns a certain amount of real property, or who happens to possess what is considered by the Crown, or, in other words, by the Colonial

Office, merit or desert, which simply signifies some sort of relationship to somebody in Downing Street. I have three objections to offer to such a proposal.

1st. It would be grossly unjust to the actual colonists, and would never be tolerated in any colony whose inhabitants had the least particle of the spirit of freemen. What! are we, the British colonists of Australia, after having made the country what it is, by our toils and sacrifices, our talents and exertions, to be degraded into an inferior class in our own adopted country, that we may bear up upon our shoulders a mushroom aristocracy, without a leg of its own to stand on?

2nd. Although I would by no means question the right of Her Majesty to create an aristocracy, with hereditary rank and legislative privileges, for the colonies,—seeing the Queen can do no wrong,—I have no hesitation in expressing it as my decided opinion, that the minister who should give such advice to the Crown as the proposal implies would richly deserve impeachment. As the source of rank and titles, the Crown is merely a trustee for the nation; and it is perilous to exercise the right of creation where no adequate service has been rendered to the State, and where the rank and title would certainly not be recognized by the people. For I do question the right of the Crown to reward services performed in England with rank and title in the colonies, in the way of creating a colonial aristocracy. Justice demands that the service should be rendered to the particular community which is expected to recognize the rank and title. The case of a governor representing the Crown *pro tempore* is very different.

3rd. An aristocracy of the kind proposed would be utterly contemptible. It is not less true of an aristocracy than it is of a poet, *Poeta nascitur; non fit*. It is of slow growth, and cannot be *made to order*. “Aristo-

cracy," says M. de Chateaubriand, "has three successive ages: the age of superiority, the age of privilege, and the age of vanity. Having emerged from the first age, it degenerates in the second, and perishes in the third."\* A colonial aristocracy would reverse this process: it would begin with an age of vanity, and would lay claim to privileges without superiority; the claim would therefore be disallowed, and the claimant be overwhelmed with merited contempt.

At the same time, I admit that there are people in the Australian colonies—as the favour with which the recent proposal to create an order of Colonial Nobility was regarded in certain quarters sufficiently proves—who would delight in seeing such a scheme carried out, in the hope of sharing in the rank and titles to be conferred. "Probably," observes the historian of America, "there has never existed a single community of men in the world entirely pervaded by the love of liberty; a sentiment which can never prevail in its highest force, or merit the name of a generous passion, except when united with the virtues of self-denial, humanity, moderation, and justice. In servile sentiments and practices, there is much to flatter the natural inclinations of mankind: to obey, accommodates the indolence,—to corrupt, and be corrupted, the avarice and ambition of human nature. To regard with peculiar veneration one or a few individuals, lifted by general consent and homage to a vast though fanciful superiority over the rest of mankind, ministers gratification to every shade and intermixture of human pride, vanity, and idolatry."†

Besides, in a country like New South Wales, in which a species of despotism has been long prevalent, as was undoubtedly the case in that colony during the preva-

\* *Memoirs of Chateaubriand*, pt. i. p. 40.

† Grahame, iii. 338.

lence of the convict system,—in a country also in which large revenues are expended upon unworthy objects, without the sanction or concurrence of the people, as is still the case in that colony,—it is to be expected that the worshippers of rank and title should form a pretty numerous “denomination.” But I feel perfectly assured that nothing would tend so speedily to bring matters to a crisis in the Australian colonies generally as the attempt to create rank and titles there. It is somewhat remarkable that there should have been worshippers of rank and title even in America before the Revolutionary War. “There had always,” says Grahame, “been some individuals, and now there was a party among the colonists, certainly not considerable in numbers, who longed for such an assimilation of the colonial institutions to those of the Parent State as might enable themselves to indulge the pride and partake the splendour and ease of the titles, trappings, and pensions of Europe, even at the expense of exalting the royal prerogative in America, and proportionally restricting and depressing the liberties of their countrymen.”\*

SECTION VIII.—THE TRUE CAUSE OF THE INSIGNIFICANT AMOUNT OF BRITISH, AS COMPARED WITH GRECIAN COLONIZATION—BAD GOVERNMENT AND THE LUST OF EMPIRE ON THE PART OF THE MOTHER-COUNTRY.

Spain and Portugal, which, at the era of the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope and the discovery of America, by the Spaniards and Portuguese, respectively, were the first Maritime Powers of Europe, had preceded England in the heroic work of Colonization by a whole century at least; but England—without ever attempting beforehand to bring the whole question of Colonization to the light of reason and the test of historical experience, as she ought to have done, or to ascertain the law of nature and the ordinance of God in regard to it, and without

\* Grahame, iv. 61.



caring in the least as to whether her own procedure in the matter was, or was not, in accordance with the sacred and inalienable rights of men—merely adopted the false principles which these powers had established in the management of their colonies, and blindly followed the superlatively bad example they had set her.

“The leading principle of colonization in the Maritime States of Europe (Great Britain among the rest),” observes a well known writer of the last century, “was commercial monopoly. The word *monopoly* in this case admitted a very extensive interpretation. It comprehended the monopoly of supply, the monopoly of colonial produce, and the monopoly of colonial manufacture. By the first, the colonists were prohibited from resorting to foreign markets for the supply of their wants; by the second, they were compelled to bring their chief staple commodities to the Mother-country alone; and by the third, to bring them to her in a raw or unmanufactured state, that her own manufacturers might secure to themselves all the advantages arising from their further improvement. This latter principle was carried so far in the Colonial system of Great Britain as to induce the late Earl of Chatham to declare, in Parliament, that the British Colonists in America had no right to manufacture even a nail for a horse-shoe.”\*

“The maintenance of this monopoly,” says Dr. Adam Smith, “has hitherto been the principal, or, more properly, perhaps, the sole end and purpose of the dominion which Great Britain assumes over her colonies. \* \* \* The monopoly is the principal badge of their dependency, and it is the sole fruit which has hitherto been gathered from that dependency.†

It would be difficult to determine which of the Mari-

\* Bryan Edwards' *History of the West Indies*, vol. ii. p. 565.

† *Wealth of Nations*, book iv. chap. vii.

time States of Europe, Great Britain included, was the most arbitrary and exacting, the most irrational and suicidal, in the management of this monopoly. Spain was doubtless the first in the order of time, but Great Britain was not a whit behind her in folly and injustice. "The commercial policy of the Spanish government," says Mr. Merivale, "towards its continental colonies has been often described, and exhibits the most perfect monument of systematic tyranny, of which any age has furnished an example." "As late as 1803, when Humboldt was at Mexico, an order was dispatched from Madrid for the rooting up of all the vines in the northern dependencies of that province."\*

Again—"Power was exclusively in the hands of Spaniards, and most colonial offices were sold in Madrid." "Of 170 viceroys," say the revolutionists of Buenos Ayres in their first manifesto, "who have governed the provinces of America, four only have been Americans; of 610 captains general and governors, only fourteen." "Even the very clerks of the government offices were almost exclusively European.†"

Their very revenues were abstracted for purposes and objects in which the colonists had no concern whatever. "Mexico, in Humboldt's time, furnished annually 6,000,000 dollars, over and above all expenses of government and defence."‡

But Great Britain proved a very apt pupil under the teaching of her chosen instructresses, Spain and Portugal. For if the British Government did nothing, comparatively, to *promote* colonization in America before the War of Independence, it did enough, in every possible way, and with singular success, to harass and

\* Merivale's *Lectures on Colonization*, vol. i. p. 7 & 9.

† Merivale's *Lectures*, vol. i. p. 10.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 20.

oppress the actual colonists, and thereby virtually to put a stop to colonization altogether. For this is the whole secret of the paltry and insignificant results of British colonization up to that memorable period, as compared with the magnificent results of the colonization of the ancient Greeks. This antagonistic action of the British Government, in regard to American colonization, previous to the revolutionary war, was unfortunately not peculiar to any one Royal house or government—it was alike the characteristic of all; the difference to the American colonists being only in the degree of badness: for even the Revolution of 1688 could scarcely be called a revolution for them. Even the “Glorious and Immortal Memory” is associated with acts of the grossest injustice and tyranny in America; and the affair of Glenco is not the only blot on the fair escutcheon of William the Third. I shall subjoin a few illustrations of the truth of this statement from the multitude of a similar kind that might easily be adduced.

In the year 1661, when the people of Massachusetts apprehended some attack upon their chartered rights on the part of Charles the Second, “The General Court,” as we are informed by the historian Grahame, “appointed a committee of eight of the most eminent persons in the state to prepare a report, ascertaining the extent of their rights, and the limits of their obedience; and, shortly after, the court, in conformity with the report of the committee, framed and published a series of declaratory resolutions, expressive of their solemn and deliberate opinion on these important subjects. It was declared that the patent (under God) is the original compact and main foundation of the provincial commonwealth, and of its institutions and policy; that the governor and company are, by the patent, a body politic,

empowered to confer the rights of freemen; and that the freemen so constituted have authority to elect annually their governor, assistants, representatives, and all other officers; that the magistracy, thus composed, hath all requisite power, both legislative and executive, for the government of all the people, whether inhabitants or strangers, without appeal, except against laws repugnant to those of England; that the provincial government is entitled by every means, even by force of arms, to defend itself by land and sea against all who should attempt injury to the province or its inhabitants; and that any imposition injurious to the provincial community, and contrary to its just laws, would be an infringement of the fundamental rights of the people of New England."\*

These declaratory resolutions were accordingly transmitted to the king by deputies, who were appointed, and sent home expressly for the purpose, by the provincial legislature; but all the efforts and influence of these deputies could not prevent the instituting of legal proceedings against the colony in the infamous law courts of the period, to deprive it of its charter, and to reduce it under the arbitrary government of the Crown. From circumstances, however, which it is unnecessary to detail, the forfeiture of the charter of Massachusetts was not formally declared till after the accession of James the Second. As soon as that monarch had ascended the throne, other deputies were sent home to England, to plead the cause of the colonists with the king; who, agreeably to his usual custom, received them roughly, and demanded an unconditional surrender of the charter, on the part of the colonists, which the deputies of course refused. A writ of *Quo Warranto* was therefore issued against the colony in

\* Grahame's *History of the United States*, i. 310.

the year 1683, and the charter was at length adjudged to be forfeited, on the most frivolous pretences, on the 2nd of July, 1685. The chartered right of the colony to elect its own governor being thus taken away, Sir Edmund Andros, an unprincipled tool of James the Second, was appointed Governor of New England during the reign of that monarch, and continued in power till the Revolution of 1688.

“ But why,” the reader will doubtless ask, “ why rake up the unjust and oppressive acts of that infamous and dismal period, as if its acts of injustice and oppression had ever been either recognized or approved of by any subsequent government of England? The charter of the metropolitan City of London was declared to be forfeited in precisely the same way, and at precisely the same period as the colonial charter of Massachusetts; but was it not speedily restored again by our great deliverer, William of Orange, whose ‘ glorious and immortal memory’ all true Englishmen must ever revere?” There was no doubt a good and sufficient reason for this very politic procedure of William; for he knew well, that if he had refused to restore the charter of the City of London, the people of England would very soon have sent him back again to Holland. But unfortunately it was far otherwise with the charter of Massachusetts, which King William *refused to restore*, although deputies had actually been sent over from America to solicit its restoration; thereby meanly taking advantage of the knavery of his predecessor. The people of Massachusetts accordingly never recovered the rights and privileges which had been solemnly guaranteed to them, on the faith of the Crown, under the Royal Charter of Charles I.\*, till the revolution of

\* By the Charter of Incorporation granted to the colony of Massachusetts Bay, in the year 1628, by Charles the First, the first

1776—the only revolution that was ever of any service to America. But the people of England—those sworn friends of freedom and of the rights of men—where were *they*, and what did *they* do all the while? Why, they just cared as little for a mere colony *then* as they do *now*; they sided with their Government, and left it to do as it pleased with the colonies, as they have always done, and as Mr. Lewis very honestly informs us they will do yet in any similar case.

“In any struggle for power between their own country and the Dependency, the people of the dominant country are likely to share all the prejudices of their government, and to be equally misled by a love of domination and by delusive notions of national dignity.\*”

“It was with great reluctance,” adds the historian of America, “that King William surrendered to the American colonies *any* of the acquisitions which regal authority had derived from the tyrannical usurpations of his predecessors; and his reign was signalized by various attempts to invade the popular rights which at first he had been compelled to respect or to restore.”†

Witness the following clause of an Act of Parliament of the 7 and 8 William III., establishing an arbitrary authority over the colonies:—

“Be it further enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, that all laws, bye-laws, usages, or customs at this time, or which **HEREAFTER** shall be in practice, or

governor of the company and his council were named by the king: the right of electing their successors was vested in the freemen of the corporation. The executive power was committed to the governor and a council of assistants; the legislation to the body of freemen, who were empowered to enact statutes and ordinances for the good of the community, not inconsistent with the laws of England.—Grahame's *History of the United States*, i. 206.

\* Lewis, *on the government of Dependencies*, p. 254.

† Grahame's *History of the United States*, ii. 232.

endeavoured, or pretended to be in force or practice, in any of the said plantations, which are in any wise repugnant to the before-mentioned laws, or any of them, so far as they do relate to the said plantations, or any of them, or which are anywise repugnant to this present Act, or to any other law hereafter to be made in this kingdom, so far as such law shall relate to and mention the said plantations, are illegal, null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.\*

When Sir Edmund Andros, James the Second's Governor of New England, demanded a surrender of the charter of Connecticut, the precious document was brought forth by the officer in charge of it, and laid upon the table of the General Court; of which the members were doubtless looking at it mournfully, as they conceived, for the last time, when the lights were suddenly extinguished, and the charter was carried off in the dark by some person unknown, and concealed in the hollow of a tree till after the Revolution of 1688. By that charter the command of the militia of the province was assigned to the Governor of Connecticut, who was appointed to his office by popular election. Notwithstanding this chartered right, however, King William, in the year 1693, commissioned Fletcher, his Governor of New York, to command the troops of Connecticut. Fletcher accordingly proceeded to Connecticut, and in the presence of the assembled troops began to read his commission from the king. The colonial officer, however, in command of the troops under the Governor of Connecticut, ventured to remonstrate against this unconstitutional proceeding; but Governor Fletcher, disregarding his remonstrance, and continuing to read his royal commission, the officer commanded the drums to beat, to drown his voice,

\* 7 and 8 William III. cap. 7., sec. 9.

which they did accordingly. Fletcher was furious at this interruption, and stormed and raged accordingly; but the Connecticut officer very coolly ordered the drums to beat the louder, and the excitement becoming general, the "Glorious and Immortal Memory's" Governor of New York was literally *drummed* out of the province of Connecticut, which was thenceforth left to be governed according to law! It would scarcely be credited, if it were not the fact, that within five years of the glorious and happy Revolution of 1688, the very creature of that Revolution, William the Third, should have attempted, through his functionaries in America, to do the very same thing that had so shortly before cost one of the Stuarts his head, and another his crown—viz., to substitute the royal will for the laws of the land. But the good people of England had no intention, it seems, in making a Revolution for themselves, to make one also for America. They left the Americans to perform that necessary service for themselves, and they did so accordingly.

"The preservation of the original charter of Connecticut had always been a subject of regret to the Revolution government of England; and various attempts were successively made to withdraw or abridge the popular franchises which it conferred. We have remarked the encroachment attempted by King William in the year 1693 on the chartered rights of the province, and the determined opposition by which his policy was defeated. In the year 1701 a more formidable attempt was made to undermine those rights altogether, by a bill which was introduced into the English House of Lords for rescinding all the existing American charters, and subjecting the relative provinces to the immediate dominion of the Crown."\*

\* Grahame, iii. 32.



Of the great and good deeds of Queen Anne for the promotion of colonization in America, I shall only mention one, which is sufficiently characteristic.

“ On the removal of Nicholson from the government of Virginia in 1704, this dignity was conferred as a sinecure office on George, Earl of Orkney, who enjoyed it for *thirty-six years*, and received in all £42,000 of salary from a people who never once beheld him among them.”\*

The accession of the House of Hanover seems to have mended the matter very little in regard to the treatment of the American colonies by the Whig government of the period. For

“ In the very first year of the king’s reign (George I., anno 1715) a bill was introduced into the British Parliament for *abolishing all the charters of the various provinces of New England.*”†

How a bill of such beneficent intentions towards the American colonists could have broken down, under the paternal government of the Whigs, it is difficult to conceive; for the ministry of the period were not destitute of the power to do good when they pleased, and were by no means scrupulous about the means of doing it, in so far as money could effect their object. Nay, the same historian informs us, that about this period, and until the Revolution of 1776, “ the whole strain of British legislation with regard to America disclosed the purpose of raising up a nation of customers for the merchants and manufacturers of the parent state, and acknowledged the idea that *the American communities existed solely for the advantage of Britain.*”‡

There can be no doubt of the truth of this assertion :

\* Grahame’s *History of America*, iii. 67.

† *Ibid.* iii. 72.

‡ *Ibid.* iii. 137.

for even the famous Earl of Chatham, patriot though he was, declared in Parliament, in explanation and illustration of the British Constitution in regard to colonies, that "the American colonists had no right to manufacture even a horse-shoe nail," without the express permission of the Sovereign Power. But the British government of the period had evidently been taking their lessons in colonization from a very experienced master in the art, the king of Spain; for, according to Professor Heeren, "the original character of the Spanish colonies, namely, that of mining settlements, led naturally to commercial restrictions. A free admittance of foreigners, under such circumstances, would have been absurd. The advantages of general trade, if at all considered, held a very inferior rank; the main object was to import into Spain, and to Spain alone, the immediate treasure of America. Even to the Spaniards it might have been evident that the prosperity of the colonies was not likely to be advanced by these means—but *the prosperity of their colonies, as usually understood, was no design of theirs.*"\*

That no opportunity of harassing and oppressing the American colonies might be neglected, and that no British monarch should be precluded from a share in this good work, an abortive attempt was made to tax the Americans in the reign of George the Second; and on its abandonment, another vigorous effort was made in Parliament to abolish the colonial charters.

"Another measure," observes the historian, "which succeeded the relinquished design of taxing the American colonies, was the repetition of an attempt, of which we have already witnessed several instances, to invade their chartered systems of liberty. A bill was introduced into the British Parliament in the year

\* Heeren, *ubi supra*, 58.

1748, by which all the American charters were abolished, and the king's instructions to the provincial governors were rendered equivalent to legal enactments."\*

The tyrannical aggressions of the ministry of George the Third upon the liberties of America, which led at length to the Revolution of 1776, and the freedom and independence of the American colonies, are sufficiently known to render it quite unnecessary to show what that venerated British monarch did for the promotion of colonization in America. It is deeply to be lamented, indeed, by every lover of his country, that the iniquitous conduct of a band of heartless and unprincipled men, in that gloomy period of our national history, should have given birth to a spirit of bitter hostility towards the British name on the part of a large portion of the citizens of the United States—a spirit which will doubtless subsist for generations to come. There was no such feeling towards their mother country, on the part of the Greek colonies of antiquity; and we shall show in the sequel the reason why.

It must be evident from these brief sketches, which might easily be multiplied to any number, so as to exhibit innumerable acts of the most unprincipled and tyrannical character, on the part of British governors of the colonies during the period in question, that the only object which the British government ever pursued, in connection with colonization, throughout the whole course of the colonial history of Great Britain, previous to the war of American Independence, was *empire*—and that the only passion with which that government was ever actuated towards the colonies was the *lust of empire*.†

\* Grahame, iii. 308.

† I have heard it said by a person in one of the first departments of the state, that the present contest (with the American colonies)

It must be equally evident that, in the pursuit of this worthless *shadow*—in the gratification of this unhal-  
lowed *lust*—all the proper and legitimate objects of  
colonization were sacrificed and lost. For while every  
petty Grecian state had its own colony, or series of  
colonies, each of which became a mother-country in its  
turn, and was often, as in the cases of Syracuse and  
Miletus, probably four times the extent of the parent  
state, both in wealth and in population, the whole popu-  
lation of the British colonies, after a period of a hun-  
dred and seventy years, did not exceed two millions and  
a half, at the commencement of the War of Independ-  
ence. Such at least is the estimate of Mr. M'Gregor,  
a highly competent authority. But of that amount  
upwards of half a million were Africans; and of the  
remaining two millions, at least one-fourth were the  
descendants of foreigners! Considering the extent,  
population and resources of the United Kingdom, this  
result of British colonization, for so long a period, is  
not only insignificant but humiliating; whether we re-  
gard colonization merely as a noble and *heroic work*,  
with Lord Bacon, or view it in the far higher and  
Christian light of its being the peculiar mission of  
Britain in the modern world. It is abundantly evident,  
at all events, that so insignificant an amount of coloni-  
zation as this result gives, when contrasted with the  
*colonizing power* of Great Britain, could never have  
secured to the mother-country the attainment of any  
one of the proper and legitimate objects of colonization  
in any sensible degree.

is for DOMINION on the side of the colonies, as well as on ours: and  
so it is indeed; but with this essential difference: *we* are strug-  
gling for dominion over OTHERS; *they* are struggling for SELF-  
dominion—the noblest of all blessings.—*Observations on Civil  
Liberty, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America.*  
By Dr. Price. 1766. p. 74.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that it was simply and solely the impolitic and suicidal attempt to combine with colonization the pursuit of *empire*, and the exercise of an unrighteous domination over subject, states and people, beyond seas, who had a natural, inherent, and indefeasible right to their freedom and independence, that made *us*, as the great colonizing nation of modern times, to differ so widely in this most important respect from the ancient Greeks; who had precisely the same national mission as ours in the ancient world. For who, except under the pressure of the direst necessity, would have chosen to forego the rights and the enjoyments of freemen in their fatherland, to share the hard fortunes of those self-expatriated men who were doomed to pass their dreary existence in countries so wretchedly and so disgracefully governed as the British colonies must have been, so far as Great Britain could have her finger in the colonial pie, previous to the War of American Independence?

It was under these circumstances of persecution at home, and tyranny and oppression abroad, that the Thirteen original colonies of America, like Israel in Egypt, grew and prospered; and became at length, from the smallest beginnings, through the indomitable energies of a British people, under the ennobling influences of their thorough Protestantism, a great nation.\*

\* I have much pleasure in presenting the candid reader with the following very remarkable Roman Catholic testimony to the influence of the thorough Protestantism of the founders of the earlier British Colonies of America, in moulding the institutions and in bringing about the national independence of that country.

“If we open history to examine the origin and the successive development of the United States of America, we shall meet a handful of poor and serious Protestants, exiled from their country for their religious opinions, and who came to establish themselves in the immense and fertile solitudes of the New World, to seek their own bread by the copious sweat of their brow; the popula-

The amount of British colonization out of which this nation arose, was insignificant in the extreme; and the character and history of that colonization form one of the blackest pages in the annals of our country. But perhaps Great Britain never learned the art of colonization until after the American War. Let us see then if it be so from the result of her efforts since.

SECTION IX.—THE LUST OF EMPIRE, AND BAD GOVERNMENT, THE CHARACTERISTICS OF BRITISH COLONIZATION FROM THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE TO THE PRESENT DAY.

One might have supposed that the Declaration of American Independence, and the calamitous results of her own folly and madness in attempting to counteract that great national revolution by a mere impotent dis-

tion which they formed was then agricultural and commercial, was enterprising and active, was laborious and persevering, because its founders could not live without these qualities. Separated and delivered over to their own individual exertions, it was necessary that they should assist each other energetically; and among themselves a spirit of fraternity was developed, which multiplied without confounding individual strength. Separated from the bosom of the Catholic Church by their Protestant doctrines, they grew up, imbued with the contempt of her authority, and professed the dogma of the superiority of private reasoning; *hence their sentiment of exalted and haughty independence*. Separated, lastly, by many leagues from their metropolis, they were accustomed to depend upon themselves without the necessity of any extraneous aid. Then a day arrived on which they considered their emancipation necessary, and without any change or transition, the sentiment of their laboriousness made them great, their position made them independent, and their customs and religion made them Republican. With them, as a French writer says, the name came after the substance, and the republic was constituted before it was proclaimed."—*El Universal, (a Mexican Paper)*, Mexico, 1 Jan. 1853. Translated by the New York Correspondent of the *Times*, 26th March, 1853.

play of physical force, would have taught Great Britain a salutary lesson, and led her to effect an immediate and thorough reform in her whole system of colonization; but Great Britain was unfortunately too old and too proud to learn anything, even in this excellent "free school for adults;" and the consequence has been, that her colonization system has been incomparably worse since the War of American Independence than it ever was before. Let the following sketch of the actual state of things, up to the present moment, in the British colonies of Australia, bear witness to the fact:—

*Imprimis*, no conceivable number of British subjects, congregated together in any British colonial territory, have a right to frame a Constitution for their own government. They may petition for one, and they may have to repeat that petition for years together, as the people of Port Phillip had to do for ten long years—suffering the utmost inconvenience, hardship, and injustice, all the while—before they get one at all; and when they do get one at last, it may not have the slightest resemblance to the one they would have chosen for themselves. But the humiliating fact is, they have no choice in the matter;—like common beggars, British colonists must take what is offered them *by their betters*, and be thankful.

*Item*, the franchise is fixed *by authority*, and so fixed as to exclude from all political rights and privileges a large proportion of the intelligence and moral worth of the colony; and the natural and necessary consequence is, that a large proportion of the community become either perfectly indifferent about their government, or animated with the fiercest hatred towards the institutions of their adopted country.

*Item*, instead of being allowed to choose their own

legislators, a third of them must be nominated by the Crown, or in other words, by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, or his principal Turnkey, the Governor; and in all likelihood, they are so nominated that, for any service they are of to the community—otherwise than by voting on all possible occasions against its proper interests, and for the support of heartless extravagance and general corruption—a majority of the nominees might be represented by as many empty beer barrels, with moveable heads on, to second motions! The Treasury Bench of the first Legislative Council of New South Wales, constituted under the Imperial Act of 1842, was a perfect *Refuge for the Destitute*; and it was quite humiliating to see the sorry figure its occupants made. Yet these were the men who were holding the highest offices, as Heads of Departments, and receiving the largest salaries in the country!

*Item*, nearly a third of the Ordinary Revenue of the colony, besides the whole of the Land Revenue, is taken out of the control of this insult and mockery of a Legislature by Act of Parliament, and appropriated for the payment of salaries enormously above either the necessities of the case, or the means of the people—as for instance, in giving a salary to the Governor of less than two hundred and fifty thousand colonists, equal to what is allotted to the President of the United States, the first magistrate or head of a sovereign and independent nation, numbering upwards of twenty-three millions of souls!

*Item*, the little knot of officials, Crown nominees, and lickspittle colonists, into whose hands so preposterous a system virtually throws the whole legislation of the colony, arrange the Electoral Districts by an Act of the Local Legislature, as they are permitted and authorised to do by Act of Parliament, so that fifteen



thousand of the citizens of Sydney shall have no more political weight or influence in the country, than fifteen hundred of the inhabitants of a frontier district seven hundred miles distant from the seat of government; the reason for this *artful dodge* being, that the inhabitants of Sydney are anxious for political improvement and general reform, while the inhabitants of the frontier district are almost exclusively tenants of the Crown and their servants, who can of course be very easily managed, especially at so great a distance.

*Item*, under this artful system, and in order to extend the influence and increase the number of the retainers of the Local Executive, the enormous revenue which is raised in the colony, as compared with its actual population, is expended in great measure in the maintenance of unnecessary offices, or in the payment of salaries enormously disproportioned to the services rendered to the community; insomuch that the construction of all public works of urgent necessity for the welfare and advancement of the colony, such as roads, bridges, tanks, reservoirs, breakwaters, &c. &c., is either not undertaken at all, or retarded and stopped for want of funds, while the appropriations even for the education of the colonial youth are paltry in the extreme.\*

\* One of the first duties of a Government in such a country as New South Wales is, to keep the public roads in a state of repair; and with so ample a revenue as there has hitherto been available for public purposes in that colony, this duty ought, unquestionably, to have been efficiently and satisfactorily discharged. From a colonial paper, however, containing a return of the amount expended for this purpose, for five or six years previous to the separation of Port Phillip from the colony of New South Wales, it appears that the total amount voted and expended in New South Wales, including the district of Port Phillip, for making and improving the roads of the colony, from the 1st January, 1846, to the 31st October, 1851, was only 52,703*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.*, being an average annual expenditure of not more than about 8,800*l.* This

*Item*, instead of having a fixed and liberal system for the disposal of waste land, as in the United States of America, the system in the Australian colonies has been changed, within my own recollection, like the wages of Jacob, ten times, to the unspeakable annoyance and loss of the colonists; while the system at present in operation has often been so illiberally and oppressively administered, and the delays interposed by interested and paltry amount was all that was expended for these six years on the roads of New South Wales and Port Phillip—countries larger than all Great Britain and France, and producing at the time a revenue, available for general purposes, of half a million a-year! But it stands to reason that if the public money is expended, as it actually is, in the support of useless or extravagantly paid offices, it cannot be available also for the formation or repairs of roads; and therefore the public must suffer. The loss which the colonists sustain from this single item of bad government, government from Downing Street, is incalculable. On returning to Sydney from the Gold Regions, by the public road over the Blue Mountains, in October, 1851, I observed quite a succession of parties, who were so far on their way to the diggings, encamped, under the heavy rain that was falling at the time, in the open forest on the road side; as the shafts in some instances, and in others the axles of their drays, had been broken on the wretched roads they had had to traverse. *There* they had to remain for days—perhaps for weeks—in the utmost discomfort imaginable, till they could get their shafts replaced or their axles mended forty or fifty miles off. On my last journey overland between Sydney and Melbourne, I enquired on the way for two postmen—very civil, obliging men, with each of whom I had travelled a whole day on my former journeys, but who I found were no longer on the road. One of them I was told had been drowned in swimming with the mail-bags across a narrow gully,—where a few pounds would have been sufficient to have constructed a wooden bridge,—while the other had been lamed for life from the overturning of his vehicle. I have been twice thrown out of the mail-carriage myself on that route, escaping on both occasions with my life, almost miraculously. But independently of the loss of life, which is considerable, the colonists lose far more in this way every year than would be sufficient to keep the roads in a state of complete repair.

corrupt functionaries so extremely vexatious, as to prove in numerous instances absolutely ruinous to the bona fide settler.\*

\* It is quite amusing to hear Lord Stanley, now Earl Derby,—after giving the colony of New South Wales the wretched burlesque of a Constitution, of which I have thus sketched out the leading features,—in the year 1842, expressing his hope in a despatch to the Governor, of date 5th September, 1842, that the colonists would be duly grateful for the “small mercies they were going to receive.”

“In conclusion, I have only to express my anxious, but confident hope, that the Act which I now transmit to you, conferring upon the inhabitants of New South Wales, powers so extensive for the administration of their own local affairs, will be received by them with feelings corresponding with those which have induced Her Majesty, by my advice, to divest herself of so large a portion of her authority over the internal management of the colony, and, with the aid of Parliament, to grant so large a measure of self-government;—that the powers thus vested in the Local Legislature will be wisely and temperately exercised;—and that her Majesty may have the high satisfaction of witnessing, as the result of her gracious boon to the colony, its continued advance in religion and morality; its steady progress in wealth and social improvement; and the permanent happiness and contentment of her people.—I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,  
“STANLEY.”

The following Notes, appended to a Return to an Address of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, in the year 1846, exhibiting the amount derived from the sales of waste land throughout the territory, during the ten years from 1836 to 1845 inclusive, will show the way in which this most important department of the public service has hitherto been managed in the colonies under Downing Street domination.

“In the year 1831, Lord Ripon’s regulations for the abolition of free grants, and the sale by auction of all Crown lands, were first promulgated in the colony.

“1839.—In this year the minimum price was raised from 5s. to 12s. per acre.

“1841.—In this year the system of sale at a fixed price of 1*l.* per acre was introduced into the district of Port Phillip.

To form some idea of the arbitrary and irrational character of the system of government that still prevails under British domination in the colonies, it is only necessary to glance at the leading principles of the late colonial administration of Earl Grey. If Earl Grey, therefore, had been studying how he could best alienate the affections of the Australian colonies from the mother-country, so as to ensure the speedy dismemberment of the empire, he could scarcely have adopted a

"1842.—In this year the system of sale by auction was resumed throughout the colony, at a minimum upset price of 12s. per acre for country lands, with liberty to select portions not bid for at the upset price.

"1843.—In this year the minimum price was raised to 1*l.* per acre, by the Act of the Imperial Parliament 5th and 6th Victoria, cap. 36."

Here were six different systems, all established by authority, in successive operation, for the disposal of land in New South Wales, within the short period of twelve years! But what else could be expected under a system of government which is so constantly changing its head or main-spring as the Colonial Office? The testimony of the late G. R. Porter, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Trade, is most important on this subject. It is as follows:—

"With the exception of the analogous office of President of the Board of Control, the ministry of the Colonies has, during the present century, been changed more frequently than any other of the great offices of State. There were, during forty-eight years, eighteen Secretaries of State for this department, one of whom, Earl Bathurst, held the seals for fifteen years; so that the average tenure of the remaining seventeen was under eighteen months. On the occurrence of each of these changes the whole system of our colonial policy has been liable to alteration; although, if there be one department of Government which more than any other requires to be conducted upon fixed principles, assuredly it must be that to which are confided the variety of interests involved in the Colonial dependencies of the kingdom, the inhabitants of which have no voice in the national councils."—*The Progress of the Nation*. By G. R. Porter, Esq., F.R.S. London, 1851. Page 725.

fitter course of procedure for the attainment of his object than the one he pursued with remarkable steadiness and perseverance, during the six years of his administration. Lord North, the real author of the American Revolution, was evidently his "Great Apollo;" and the spirit of that defunct statesman, whose name will ever be associated with the disasters and dishonour of his country, was in reality the evil genius of the Colonial Office from the period of Earl Grey's accession to power, in the year 1846.

The grand object of Earl Grey's administration was to force upon the Australian colonies a continuance of the transportation system, in direct opposition to his own express pledges on the subject, and to the almost unanimous protest and remonstrances of the colonists. A great deal of casuistry was employed by the Colonial Office and its men of business, of that peculiar description which characterized the special pleading of the department in the case of the West India dispatches, to prove that Earl Grey never pledged himself not to continue transportation to Van Dieman's Land. But I confess I regard it as a matter of very little moment indeed whether he pledged himself or not; for I have yet to learn that the opinion of any Secretary of State, on any subject whatever affecting the interests of colonists, is to be weighed for one moment against the deliberate opinion of a whole series of British colonies. Every insult was heaped upon the colonies, and especially upon the unfortunate colony of Van Dieman's Land, in connection with this matter; every discreditable manœuvre was resorted to to steal a march upon them, and to worm out of them something that might be interpreted as an expression of acquiescence in the meditated infliction; everything was sacrificed to promote the convict policy of Earl Grey.

I had the honour, as one of the two Representatives of the city of Sydney in the late Legislative Council of New South Wales, during the year 1850, to present the most numerously signed petition that had ever been presented to the Colonial Legislature, against the renewal of transportation to that colony. It had 36,589 names attached to it—names of persons of all ranks in society, and from all parts of the colony.\* But although I had cordially participated from the first in the anti-transportation movement, and had protested, in the strongest manner, against the continuance of transportation to any of the actual colonies of Eastern Australia, or to any part of the eastern coast of that continent, I took occasion, in my speech on the subject in Council—as I had also done before a Select Committee of the House of Commons in the year 1837—to express my decided approval of transportation in the abstract, as a species of punishment for crime. I could not therefore be regarded as a prejudiced witness in the case, or as being actuated by mere party spirit, in opposing a measure of importance in the eyes of the Colonial Office. On the contrary, I consider the continuance of transportation as one of the political necessities of the British Empire; and I regard the punishment itself, if properly carried out, as both humane and reformatory in a very high degree. But as there was no political necessity for the continuance of transportation to Van Dieman's Land, or for its extension to any part of the eastern coast of Australia, it was folly in the extreme on the part of Earl Grey—it was something akin to political insanity, like Lord North's—to force upon the colonies a measure so exceedingly distasteful, and thereby to imperil their connection with the British Empire. The Australian

\* The number of signatures to the petition in favour of the continuance of transportation—on the same occasion—was only 525.

Anti-Transportation League, which his Lordship's impolitic measures virtually called into existence, was one of the characteristic features of the times. It has given the colonists the important idea of a Union of the Colonies. It has taught them, moreover, that union is strength; and it has furnished them with an instrument which they may use on some other occasion, and with still greater effect.

Earl Grey's Australian Colonies Bill of 1850 was supposed, by ill-informed people at home, both in Parliament and out of it, to have been a great improvement on the previous system. As far as the colony of New South Wales is concerned, it has been quite the reverse. It lowered the franchise, indeed, from twenty to ten pounds—a concession, be it remarked (as a proof of how little either the British people or the people's House care for the colonies), for which the colonists were indebted, not to the House of Commons, but to the House of Lords—but in leaving the apportionment of the Electoral Districts to the actual Legislature, it virtually provided for the establishment of a worse system of government than the one previously in existence. For to suppose that the interests of the people would be safe in the hands of a Legislature consisting, to the extent of one-third of its whole number, of Government Nominees, with a revenue of enormous amount, as compared with the actual population, to appropriate for the extension of official patronage, and the purchase of political adherence, was pre-eminently absurd. Earl Grey was not left in ignorance as to the probable issue of so unwarrantable an experiment. Sir William Molesworth had stated distinctly, in his speech on the Australian Colonies Bill, that the interests of the colonists could not be safe in the hands of the actual Legislature; and it was therefore the bounden duty of the Colonial Office to have

sent out instructions to the Local Executive, to ensure the carrying out of the Imperial Act on the principles of common sense and common honesty. But as no such instructions were sent out with the Act, and as the Act itself was actually carried out by the Government-packed Legislature to which the colony was subjected at the time, on the principles of political swindling and downright knavery, Earl Grey was justly chargeable with the entire result, agreeably to the maxim *Quod facit per alium, facit per se*. The best part of the colonists have thus been cheated and robbed of their political rights and privileges, as I have already shown in the case of the city of Sydney, under the mockery of an Act of Parliament, which official influence was permitted to mutilate on its passage, so as to deprive the colonists of all the benefits it designed. It was generally believed, indeed, in New South Wales, that all this was clearly foreseen in Downing Street, and was artfully contrived in order to elicit from the mock Legislature, which would thus be created, an expression of opinion in favour of a resumption of transportation to that colony !\*

\* The Legislature that was constituted for the Colony of New South Wales, under the Imperial Act of 1850, and the Colonial Supplementary Act of 1851, has recently been engaged in framing a Constitution for that colony; and the principles of this New Constitution, which is now in all likelihood under consideration at home, are in all respects worthy of its unprincipled authors, being a gross outrage upon popular freedom and the rights of men. It proposes, for example, that there shall be two Houses of Legislature, an Upper House, to consist entirely of Crown Nominees, first for five years and afterwards for life; and a Lower House entirely elective, but with the representation arranged on a system precisely similar to the one at present in operation, which closely resembles that of England before the first Reform Act—effectually neutralizing the popular voice everywhere, and covering the whole country with rotten boroughs, in the shape of a representation of sheep and cattle and not of men. And this preposterous system is to be in-



This peculiar species of political knavery,—in vitiating the electoral system of the colonies, so as to repress, or prevent the expression of, public opinion, and to ensure pliant majorities in the Colonial Legislatures, for the carrying out of the principles of arbitrary government—was one of the regular devices of Lord North and his associates, and one of the fruitful causes of the American Revolution.

“ In North Carolina, at this juncture,” observes the historian, “ a general ferment was excited by the efforts of Dobbs, the Royal Governor, so to alter (partly by creating new boroughs and counties, and partly by other measures,) the system of popular representation, as to ensure to the Crown an entire ascendant over the deliberations of the provincial assembly. From these measures, after he had pursued them so far as to kindle a high degree of public spirit in the province, he was at last compelled to depart, by the resolute opposition of the assembly, accompanied by such expressions of popular indignation as strongly betokened a revolt against his authority.”\*

Again, “ On a question from New Jersey in 1773, with respect to the number of representatives from certain counties or places, the attorney-general Raymond advised the King that he might regulate the number to be sent from each place, or *might restrain them from sending any at his pleasure*. In 1747, on a similar question from New Hampshire, the Crown lawyers,

capable of any alteration in future, unless two-thirds of the members of both Houses shall concur in sanctioning a change. A Civil List of £64,300 is to be payable to Her Majesty, including £28,000 for the support of religion, and the present most iniquitous Land-System, which operates as a complete check upon colonisation, is to be continued and perpetuated.

\* Grahame's *History of the United States*, iv. 75. (Anno 1760.)

Ryder and Murray, informed his Majesty that the right of sending representatives to the assembly was founded, originally, on the commissions and instructions given by the Crown to the governors of New Hampshire." "These questions, Pitkin (an American writer) very justly observes, could be settled only by a Revolution."\*

A third particular in which Earl Grey, as the Autocrat of all the colonies of Britain, identified himself with the real authors of the American Revolution, and in which he even surpassed King James the Second, King William the Third, and Lord North himself, was the appointment of a Governor-General for the Australian colonies, under the sole authority of the Colonial Office, and without any Act of Parliament whatsoever. The idea of combining the whole of the American colonies under one general government, and subjecting them to a Governor-General, to be under the sole authority of the Crown, originated with a British monarch, whose opinions and practice, in what his worthy grandfather used to call "kingcraft," doubtless deserve all honour and imitation from the Colonial Office of the present day,—I mean King James the Second!!! The fact itself, with the views and objects of its worthy projector, is thus detailed by the historian of America:—

"The project of a general government, embracing all the colonies, *which had been devised by James the Second*, but rendered abortive by the Revolution, was now (1692) revived by this enterprising politician (Nicholson, governor of Virginia), who beheld in it at once the most effectual means of securing the absolute authority of the Parent State, and the fairest promise of his own ascent to the pinnacle of provincial greatness. By his merit in promoting an object so agreeable to the

\* *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 58.

English Court, added to his boasted influence and experience in America, he hoped to entitle himself to the appointment of Governor-General; and this ambitious vision seems to have mainly influenced his language and actions during his second presidency in Virginia."\*

Again, "He [Governor Nicholson] cooperated (anno 1698) with his friend, Colonel Quarry, another functionary of the Crown in North America, in the composition of the memorials which were presented in Quarry's name to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations in England. These memorials represented the colonists of America, and the Virginians in particular, as deeply imbued with republican principles; strongly recommended immediate recourse to the most rigorous measures for preserving the ascendancy of the Royal prerogative; and especially suggested, "that all the English colonies of North America be reduced under one government and one viceroy, and that a standing army be there kept on foot to subdue the enemies of Royal authority."†

But the American colonists, of the Anti-Revolution period, were too watchful over their own rights and liberties, ever to permit such an appointment as that of a Governor-General to be made in their midst; and the project had therefore to be abandoned, with every inclination in the proper quarters to carry it out. But mark the progress of the true principles of government in *our period!* Without consulting either House of Parliament, and certainly without consulting the Australian colonies, Earl Grey merely nods‡ to his underling; and forthwith the parchment, with the sign manual attached, is duly issued, and a Governor-General is created for Australia! So far, however, as the thing

\* Grahame's *History of the United States*, vol. iii. p. 12.

† Grahame's *History of the United States*, vol. iii. p. 15.

‡ *Nutu quatit Olympum.* (soil. Jupiter)—VIRGIL.

has gone, this Downing Street demonstration has proved a signal failure. So sheer an insult was the appointment considered to the colonies generally, that some of them, as for instance South Australia, got up an expression of indignation on the occasion; but so utterly useless, as well as uncalled for, was the appointment, that the rest scarcely thought it worth while to be angry. In short Downing Street exclaimed,

“A Governor-General! A Governor-General for Australia!”

and to set the example, fell down and worshipped accordingly. But the colonists looked on in utter scorn, and merely replied,

“A Popinjay! Good friends! A Popinjay!”\*

But who, it may be asked, is the man whom Earl Grey *delights to honour* with the new and dignified appointment of Governor-General of Australia? The present governor of New South Wales is his Excellency, Sir Charles Augustus Fitz Roy, of the ducal House of Grafton. He had previously been governor of the island of Antigua, in the West Indies; and on his arrival in New South Wales, he was accompanied by his lady, the late Lady Mary Fitz Roy, a daughter of the Duke of Richmond, and two sons, who had both reached man's estate. Soon after his arrival, Lady Mary, who was much liked, was unfortunately killed by a fall from her curricule; the horses having taken fright, when the Governor was imprudently acting as cha-

\* It is very questionable policy, as well as an evidence of very bad taste, to introduce upon the stage a functionary of this kind, who is really not wanted, and for whom there is nothing earthly to do. The maxim of Horace is as good in politics as it is in poetry:

“Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus  
Inciderit.”—HORAT. *Ars Poetica*.

There was certainly no such *nodus* in the case in question.

rioteer, and galloped off with the vehicle. Whether this calamity made a deep impression upon his Excellency or not, the reader will judge from the sequel. For my own part, I presume to offer no opinion on the subject.

To all appearance, as well as in the general opinion of the colonists, Sir Charles Fitz Roy is a man with neither head nor heart—

“ *Sans eyes, sans ears, sans taste, sans everything.*”

*By orders from Home, we pay him £5000 a-year, with various valuable perquisites besides, for governing the colony; but as he is universally understood to be somewhat effete and incapable in measures of government, we have to pay £2000 a-year to a Colonial Secretary, as governor's keeper; the latter doing much of the work, without sharing the responsibility. From the distinguished position which his Excellency and his two sons—one of whom is his private secretary—hold in the colony, they are necessarily the observed of all observers; and their influence on the community, whether for good or for evil, is correspondingly great. As the reader will therefore desire to have a glance at their likenesses, I beg to refer him to the following full-length portrait, which was drawn eighty years ago by the ablest limner of his day. It is a family picture; and the beauty of it is that it still exhibits the family likenesses as true to the life as ever:*

“ There is a certain family in this country, on which nature seems to have entailed an hereditary baseness of disposition. As far as their history has been known, the son has regularly improved upon the vices of his father, and has taken care to transmit them pure and undiminished into the bosom of his successor. In the senate, their abilities have confined them to those

humble, sordid services in which the scavengers of the ministry are usually employed. But in the memoirs of private treachery, they stand first and unrivalled. The following story will serve to illustrate the character of this respectable family, and to convince the world, that the present possessor has as clear a title to the infamy of his ancestors, as he has to their estate. It deserves to be recorded, for the curiosity of the fact, and should be given to the public, as a warning to every honest member of society. The present Lord Irnham, who is now in the decline of life, lately cultivated the acquaintance of a younger brother of a family, with which he had lived in some degree of intimacy and friendship. The young man had long been the dupe of a most unhappy attachment to a common prostitute. His friends and relations foresaw the consequences of this connection, and did everything that depended upon them to save him from ruin. But he had a friend in Lord Irnham, whose advice rendered all their endeavours ineffectual. This hoary lecher, &c.”\*

*The hoary lecher!*—Good!—but we must stop here, and proceed with our illustrations.

As Her Majesty makes a Royal progress at home every year, it is natural that Her Representatives in the colonies should do the same. Whether they imitate the good example of their Royal Mistress in other respects is not quite so evident. At all events, Sir Charles Fitz Roy was engaged in one of his Viceregal progresses in New South Wales, when he reached the inland town of Berrima, about eighty miles from Sydney, and took up his abode at a respectable “hostelrie” in the town. In the domestic establishment of the Innkeeper, there was a young woman, the daughter of a settler in the neighbourhood, of the name of C——, who, I believe, was a

\* Junius, *Letter LXXXVII.*, addressed to the Duke of Grafton.

native of the colony, and had formerly been the champion of New South Wales. Miss C——, it seems, was by no means destitute of personal attractions, and appears to have fixed the regards of the Governor-General himself. What occurred at the inn, I neither know nor care; but in due time Miss C—— proving *enceinte*, the fact was inhumanly laid to the door of Her Most Gracious Majesty's Representative, the Governor-General of Australia! C—— acted on the occasion as any honest man would be likely to do, whether a pugilist or not; and he came at length to Sydney for redress: but meeting with some such cold reception as humble people like himself are likely to do when asking redress of any kind at the mansions of Governors-General, he placed his case in the hands of an able solicitor in Sydney—William Thurlow, Esq.,—the Right Worshipful the Mayor of that city for the years 1851 and 1852.

Mr. Thurlow accordingly stated his case, and preferred his claim upon His Excellency, in the usual style, *demanding compensation for the loss of the services of his client's child*. As there were other members of "the household" at Berrima on the occasion in question, it would doubtless have been very difficult for Mr. Thurlow—shrewd lawyer though he is—to ascertain (as it was alleged he should have done beforehand,) to which member of the exemplary family the paternity in the case was to be assigned; but as this was no part of his client's case, he stuck to the Governor-General, and the result was that a sum of two hundred pounds, as was reported, was paid to C—— to prevent exposure and disgrace!

If the reader should feel inclined to question the propriety of my entering into these details, I think he will scarcely do so on reflection, especially after perusing the following quotations:—

“Of all constitutions,” observes one of the ablest writers of the present day, and one who is certainly no bigot—“Of all constitutions, forms of government, and political methods among men, the question to be asked is even this, What kind of man do you set over us? All questions are answered in the answer to this.\*”

To the same effect observes Mr. Merivale:—“It never should be forgotten, that the selection and encouragement of fit men is, if possible, even of more consequence than the adoption of fit measures.”†

The great Socrates, also, was precisely of the same opinion, as to the necessity of having fit and proper persons at the head of a State. “In order to be well governed,” he observes, “the head of our Republic must be a man of undoubted virtue, of cultivated taste, and of strict integrity.”‡

“No nation, or people,” I quote from the able writer on America whom I have repeatedly cited, “can ever be safely indifferent to the moral character of its political chiefs and leaders;”§ and therefore if that character

\* T. Carlyle's *Latter Day Pamphlets*.

† Merivale, vol. ii. p. 161.

‡ Notre Republique sera donc bien gouvernee, si elle a pour Chef un homme qui joigne la connaissance du bien a celle du beau et de justice. Plato's *Republic*, Book II. French Translation. Paris, 1794.

§ The Americans were generally imbued with the persuasion (which some notable events in their subsequent experience tended to illustrate and confirm), that *a nation can never be safely indifferent to the moral characters of its political chiefs and leaders*; and that private virtue and prudence afford the surest test of the purity and stability of patriotic purpose and resolution.—*Grahame*, vol. iv. p. 316.

“The moral principle,” says Dr. Channing, “is the life of communities.” And again:—“Liberty has no foundation but in private and public virtue.”—Dr. Channing's *Essay on War*.



happens to be notoriously bad in any particular instance, it ought, for the benefit of society, to be publicly and fearlessly exposed. No doubt, it may be somewhat hazardous to make the attempt; but, as Sir Walter Scott observes in his Diary, "If we do not run some hazard in our attempts to do good, where is the merit of them?"\* It has been an ancient practice with the Colonial Office to send out men for the highest appointments in the colonies who have been bankrupt alike in character and in purse;† and if this practice has been continued to the very latest period in New South Wales, it has doubtless been because the people have hitherto had so little to say in the management of their own affairs. "I confess," says Oldmixon, an American annalist of the earlier part of last century, "it gives me a great deal of pain, in writing this history, to see what sort of governors I meet with in the Plantations."‡ And, in reference to a period much nearer that of our great Apollo, Lord North, another writer on America observes:—

"It unfortunately happened for our American provinces, at the time we now treat of, that a government in any of our colonies in those parts was scarcely looked upon in any other light than that of an hospital where the favourites of the ministry might lie till they had recovered their broken fortunes; and oftentimes they served as asylums from their creditors."§

\* Sir Walter Scott's Life, by Lockhart. Diary, vol. vi. p. 139.

† Who having lost his credit, pawned his rent,  
Is therefore fit to have a government.—POPE.

The practice is not greatly changed for the better since the days of the poet.

‡ Oldmixon, quoted by Grahame, vol. ii. p. 302.

§ Wynne (an American writer), also quoted by Grahame, vol. iii. p. 236.

We seem, however, to have improved in Australia, even upon Lord North and his times: for, without descending to particulars, there is no place in New South Wales that could furnish so large a contribution to the Scandalous Chronicle as Government House, Sydney—there is no *back slum*, either in London or Westminster, that stands more urgently in need of a thorough clean-out.

Another instance of the complete identification of Earl Grey with his

“Most noble, reverend, and approved good masters”

of the Lord North school is the idea which his lordship repeatedly put forth, that the governors of all the British colonies should have their salaries paid by the mother country, or, in other words, that they should be *a sort of out-door paupers, supported by the parishes in England!* Whether any of the Australian colonies would be abject enough to consent to such a proposal, the real object of which is to make the governors the complete tools of their Downing Street Paymasters, I shall not say; for under a Government-packed Legislature, with nearly half a million a-year to appropriate in salaries for offices of all kinds, whether necessary or not, there will always be plenty of people abject enough for anything—plenty of “four-footed beasts and *creeping things* :\* but it is positively refreshing, while it tends to raise one’s opinion of human nature, to contemplate the manner in which so insidious a proposal was received by the patriots of the olden time in America. The following passage from the American historian relates to events that took place during the administration of Governor

\* They have actually grasped at the idea in the Legislature of New South Wales—just as a beggar would at a sixpence !!!

Hutchinson, the *last* Royal Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts :—

“ Hutchinson had enjoyed his commission as governor but a very short time, when he acquainted the provincial assembly that he no longer required a salary from them, as the king had made provision for his support. By this measure, the British Court expected gradually to introduce into practical operation the principle for which it had already contended, of rendering the emoluments, as well as the communication and endurance of executive functions in America, wholly dependent on the pleasure of the Crown; and doubtless it was supposed that the Americans would give little heed to the principle of an innovation of which the first practical effect was to relieve themselves from a considerable burden. But the Americans valued liberty more than money, and justly accounted it the political basis on which reposed the stability of every temporal advantage. Hutchinson’s communication was maturely considered; and, about a month afterwards, the assembly, by a message, declared to him that the royal provision for his support, and his own acceptance of it, was an infraction of the rights of the inhabitants recognized by the provincial charter, an insult to the assembly, and an invasion of the important trust which from the foundation of their commonwealth they had ever continued to exercise.”\*

Again, on his subsequent “ avowal, that he could no longer authorise a provincial provision for the judges, as the king had undertaken to provide for *their* remuneration also, the assembly instantly passed a resolution declaring that this measure tended to the subversion of justice and equity; and that while the tenure of judicial office continued to depend on the pleasure of the king,

\* Grahame’s *History of the United States of America*, vol. iv. p. 323.

‘ any of the judges who shall accept of and depend upon the pleasure of the Crown for his support, independent of the grants of the assembly, will discover that he is an enemy of the constitution, and has it in his heart to promote the establishment of arbitrary power in the province.’ ”\*

But the crowning Act of Earl Grey’s administration—the Act most directly illustrative of the thoroughly arbitrary principles of British domination in the colonies—is, what is called the Squatting Act of 1846. This Act, which at once established in the Australian colonies a system precisely similar to that which so long characterized and so often convulsed the ancient Roman republic, and led to the numerous agrarian agitations of Roman history, was passed almost immediately after his Lordship’s accession to office, at the instance of a comparatively small portion of the colonists, the occupants of the Waste Lands. It authorised long leases of vast tracts of these lands at a merely nominal rental, and established a right of pre-emption, at the minimum price, on behalf of the occupants; thereby virtually confiscating the public lands of the colony, locking them up from the industrious and virtuous emigrant, and subjecting numerous families and individuals of that class to the greatest hardship, loss and ruin. In short, this Act, which has been perfectly suicidal to British interests in Australia, and of which the conception was worthy of a mad-house, has proved a complete bar to colonization, and is so enormous a grievance that it would justify any number of revolutions in the estimation of the whole civilized world.

Such, then, is the miserable and suicidal policy which Great Britain has been pursuing, in the government of her colonies, ever since the War of American Inde-

\* Grahame’s *History of the United States of America*, vol. iv. p. 323.

pendence. Like some old withered hag, she has been gratifying to the full her *lust* of empire, and sacrificing everything that was really valuable and desirable for the gratification of this unhallowed passion—the hopes and prospects, nay, the very existence, of myriads of her people at home, and the welfare and advancement of myriads of her people abroad. It is recorded as one of the golden sayings of the good King Henry of Castile, “that he feared the curses of his people more than the weapons of his enemies.” Would God we had rulers in Britain that really feared the curses of their people, either at home or abroad! Deep and hollow, like a voice from the sepulchre, they rise to the listening ear of heaven from the cheerless haunts of wretchedness in every city of the land; and they are wafted across the ocean with every breeze from her remotest colony!

SECTION X.—THE GRECIAN SPECIFIC FOR SUCCESSFUL COLONIZATION—FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE FOR THE COLONIES.

To return to the ancient Greeks—I find I have scarcely done justice to that wonderful people, in saying, as I happened to do in a former section of this chapter, from a scrupulous desire not to exaggerate, that their Mother-country, Greece Proper, was smaller than England. It was actually smaller than Scotland, and there is reason to believe that its population, even at the period of its greatest glory, was not greater than that of Scotland at the present day.\*

\* Even if we add all the islands, the square contents of Greece are a third less than those of Portugal.

*Ancient Greece*:—From the German of A. H. L. Heeren, Professor of History at Gottingen. By George Bancroft. London, 1845. Page 16.

The area of Portugal is 38,700 square miles; that of Greece is therefore 25,800, while that of Scotland is 29,600.

What, then, was the secret of the wonderful success of the Greek colonies of the ancient world? Why, the answer is plain and obvious to every person who will honestly admit the fact—**THEY WERE FREE AND INDEPENDENT FROM THE FIRST.** This, conjoined with the spirit and energy of the people themselves, was the cause, and the sole cause, of their rapid advancement and extraordinary prosperity.

“Different commonwealths,” says a great European authority on the Law of Nations, “may be formed out of one by common consent, by sending out colonies in the manner usual in old Greece. For the Romans afterward (who are followed now by the nations of Europe,) when they sent a colony abroad, continued it under the jurisdiction of the Mother-commonwealth or Greater country. But the colonies planted by the Greeks, and after their method constituted particular commonwealths, were obliged only to pay a kind of deference and dutiful submission to their Mother-commonwealth.”\*

“The migrations of the Greek colonists,” says Bishop Thirlwall, “were commonly undertaken with the approbation and encouragement of the States from which they issued; and it frequently happened that the motive of the expedition was one in which the interest of the mother-country was mainly concerned, as when the object was to relieve it of superfluous hands, or of discontented and turbulent spirits. But it was seldom that the Parent State looked forward to any more remote advantage from the colony, or that the colony expected or desired any from the Parent State. There was in most cases nothing to suggest the feeling of dependence on the one side, or a claim of authority on the other. The sons, when they left their home to shift

\* Puffendorf's *Law of Nature and Nations*, Book VIII., chap. xii., sect. 5.

for themselves on a foreign shore, carried with them only the blessing of their fathers, and felt themselves completely emancipated from their control. Often the colony became more powerful than the parent, and the distance between them was generally so great as to preclude all attempts to enforce submission. But though they were not connected by the bands of mutual interest, or by a yoke laid by the powerful on the weak, the place of such relations was supplied by the gentler and nobler ties of filial affection and religious reverence, and by usages which, springing out of these feelings, stood in their room, and tended to suggest them where they were wanting. Except in the few cases where the emigrants were forced, as outcasts, from their native land, they cherished the remembrance of it as a duty prescribed not merely by nature, but by religion. The colony regarded its prosperity as mainly depending on the favour of the tutelary gods of the State to which it owed its birth. They were invited to share the newly-conquered land, and temples were commonly dedicated to them in the new citadel, resembling as nearly as possible, in form and position, those with which they were honoured in the mother-country; their images here renewed the old model; and it is not improbable that the priests who ministered to them were sometimes brought from the ancient seats. The sacred fire, which was kept constantly burning on the public hearth of the colony, was taken from the altar of Vesta in the Council-hall of the elder State. The founder of a colony, who might be considered as representing its parent city, was honoured after his death with sacred rites, and as a being of a high order; and when the colony in its turn became a parent, it usually sought a leader from the original mother-country, to direct the planting of the new settlement. The same reverential feeling ma-

nifested itself more regularly in embassies and offerings sent by the colony to honour the festivals of the parent city, and in the marks of respect shown to its citizens who represented it on similar occasions in the colony. But the most valuable fruit of this feeling was a disposition to mutual good offices in seasons of danger and distress.”\*

“ The Greek colonies,” says Baron Niebuhr, “ were planted at a distance from the Parent State, usually by persons who emigrated to escape from commotions and civil feuds, and not under the direction of the government at home ; or if a colony went forth in peace, and with the blessing of the Parent State, and the latter retained honorary privileges, still *the colony from the beginning was free and independent, even when founded to serve as a safe mart for commerce.*”†

To the same effect, the laborious and accurate M‘Culloch, in his Dictionary of Commerce, under the Article *Colonies*, observes :

“ The Greek colonies of antiquity seem to have been chiefly founded by citizens whom the violence and fury of contending factions forced to leave their native land : but they were sometimes formed for the purpose of re-

\* *History of Greece*. By the Rev. Connop (now Bishop) Thirlwall, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, vol. ii. p. 98.

† Niebuhr’s *History of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 43. In a posthumous work, just published, Niebuhr repeats the same idea in the following language :

“ The very fact that *the mother-city made no claims to rule over her colonies, as modern States do in regard to theirs*, and that the colonies, in cases of emergency, assisted the parent city, produced in antiquity a cordial relation between the mother city and her colonies ; of which we find but few exceptions, as, e. g., between Corcyra and Corinth.”—Niebuhr’s *Lectures on Ancient History*. Translated by Dr. Schmitz, of the High School, Edinburgh, 2 vols. London, 1852.



lieving the mother-country of a redundant population, and sometimes also for the purpose of extending the sphere of commercial transactions, or of providing for their security. The relations between the mother-country and the colony depended, in a great measure, on the motives which led to the establishment of the latter. When a colony was founded by fugitives, forcibly expelled from their ancient homes, or when it was founded, as was frequently the case, by bodies of voluntary emigrants, who received no assistance from, and were in no respect controlled by, the Parent State, it was from the first independent; and even in those cases in which the emigration was conducted under the superintendence of the parent city, and where the colony was protected by her power and influence, the dependence was, mostly, far from being absolute and complete. *The great bulk of the Greek colonies were really independent States; and though they commonly regarded the land of their forefathers with filial respect, though they yielded to its citizens the place of distinction at public games and religious solemnities, and were expected to assist them in time of war, they did so as allies only, on fair and equal terms, and never as subjects.* Owing to the freedom of their institutions, and their superiority in the arts of civilized life to the native inhabitants of the countries among whom they were generally placed, these colonies rose, in a comparatively short period, to a high pitch of opulence and refinement; and many among them, as Miletus and Ephesus in Asia Minor, Syracuse and Agrigentum in Sicily, and Tarentum and Locri in Italy, not only equalled, but greatly surpassed, their mother cities in wealth and power."

"The connexion existing between the colonies and the Mother-cities," observes Professor Heeren, "was

generally determined by the same causes that led to their formation. In these cases when a city had been founded by malcontent or banished emigrants, all dependence on the Mother-country was naturally out of the question; and even in the colonies established for the purposes of trade, that dependence was but feeble and brief; the Mother-cities failing in power and not in will, to enforce it. *The very independence of so many colonies, made (almost without exception) in countries pre-eminently favoured by nature in productions and climate, and so situated as to oblige the inhabitants to navigation and commerce, must have given a great impulse to the civilization of the Hellenic race, and may be regarded as the main cause of its rapid progress and wide extension; wider indeed than that of any other nation of the ancient world. What a variety of political ideas must have been formed among a people, whose settlements, more than a hundred in number, had each its own peculiar form of government!\**

Nay, so ennobling was the spirit of freedom and independence in the Colonies of Greece, that whereas the idea of a colonial author, under the British system of colonial domination, (which seems effectually to repress all the nobler faculties of men,) is apt to raise the smile of incredulity or contempt on the face of the learned vulgar at home, not a few of the immortal writers of Greece were mere colonists, and the splendour of their genius reflects an unfading lustre on their Father-land to the present day. Homer, the first of the Grecian poets, was a Ionian Greek colonist, of Asia

\* *A Manual of Antient History, particularly with regard to the Constitutions, the Commerce, and the Colonies, of the States of Antiquity.* By A. H. L. Heeren, Knight of the North Star Guelphic Order; Aulic Councillor and Professor of History in the University of Gottingen, &c. London, 1847. Page 127.

Minor; and so also was Herodotus, the first of her historians.\*

Even Mitford, whose history appears to have been written for the express purpose of bringing all popular government into discredit, and of inducing men to submit without murmuring to arbitrary rule, admits this remarkable fact in the following language:—

“ Few of the Grecian colonies were founded with any view to extend the dominion of the mother-country. When a State by a public act sent out a colony, the purpose was generally no more than to deliver itself from numbers too great for its territory, or from factious men, whose means of power at home were unequal to their ambition. Corinth, however, early, and in later times Athens, had sometimes further views. Possessing naval force, they could give protection, and exact obedience; of which the Grecian commonwealths in general could do neither. For the most part, therefore, in the colonies, as in Greece itself, *every considerable town claimed to be an independent State; and unless oppressed by a powerful neighbourhood, maintained itself by its own strength and its alliances.*”†

The maritime state of Corinth,‡ as this historian informs us, was the first Grecian State that attempted to lord it over her colonies, and to hold them in subjec-

\* Of the Greek colonies, the most ancient, and in many respects the most important, were those along the western coast of Asia Minor, extending from the Hellespont to the boundary of Cilicia.

\* \* \* Here, in the native country of Homer, the father of Grecian civilization, of Alcaeus, and of Sappho, poesy, both epic and lyric, expanded her first and fairest blossoms; and hence, too, the Mother-country herself received the first impulse of moral and cultivated taste.—Heeren, ubi supra, page 127.

† *History of Greece.* By William Mitford, Esq., vol. i. p. 385.

‡ The territory of this powerful Maritime State, the Mother-country of so many famous colonies, was only four miles square.

tion. Thucydides informs us of the first attempt of this kind which she seems to have made, and of the spirited manner in which it was repelled. The Locrians, a Corinthian colony on the north coast of the Gulf of Corinth, having, in the usual way of the times, exhibited their determination to think and act for themselves, the haughty Corinthians, who seem to have been a regular Tory community of the old school, designated them as "refractory subjects," and proceeded to treat them accordingly. But the Locrians firmly asserted their freedom and independence; protesting, in a remonstrance which they addressed to the Corinthian government, and of which the historian has given us the substance, "that they had emigrated, not to become the slaves or subjects, but the equals of the Corinthians, and that this had been the original understanding and condition of their emigration."\* It is humiliating to be obliged to acknowledge that, with all our boasted civilization, and our professed Christianity, we are still as a people so far behind these ancient Pagan Greeks, who so fully understood, and so nobly and successfully vindicated, the principles of manly freedom, two thousand five hundred years ago!† In the noble art of colonization, they were unquestionably our masters;

‡ *Ou gar epi to douloi, all' epi to homoioi einai ekpempontai. Non enim ut servi sint, sed ut pari jure sint, dimittuntur.*—Thucyd. lib. i. c. 37.

† "In the circuit we have traversed," observes an able writer by no means favourably disposed to the claims of colonists in modern times, "no vestiges have appeared of any disposition, in the several parent states, to impose taxes on the colonies, or even to retain sovereignty over them."—*History of the colonization of the Free States of Antiquity*, p. 47. London, 1777.

And again:—

"The only connection known, for many ages, between the Mother-country and the (Greek) colony was that of affection and alliance."—*Ibid.* p. 32.

and we shall never practise that art successfully till we follow their illustrious example. They planted colonies on every shore, and everywhere they prospered—simply because the colonists were everywhere their own masters, and had no Colonial Office to thwart their efforts, and to blast and curse their prosperity !

The brightest and palmiest period of Grecian colonization appears to have been the seventh and sixth centuries before the Christian era ; of which Bishop Thirlwall speaks in the following language of well-merited admiration :

“ How far political changes were connected with the prime spring of that wonderful activity which was displayed by the Asiatic Greeks, more especially the Ionians, in the seventh and sixth centuries before our era, can only be conjectured. It seems probable that the fall of the ancient aristocracies which succeeded the heroic monarchy, and the emulation between a growing commonalty, and an oligarchy which grounded its political claims solely on superior wealth, were conditions, without which the Ionian genius would not have found room to expand itself so freely. On the other hand, the inferior degree in which the Dorians and Æolians were animated with the spirit of commercial adventure, may have been owing to their political institutions, not less than to a difference in their national character. It is however certain that in the two centuries just mentioned the progress of mercantile industry and maritime discovery was coupled with the cultivation of the nobler arts, and the opening of new intellectual fields, in a degree to which history affords no parallel before the beginning of the latest period of European civilization.”\*

“ Among the (*Ionian*) towns,” says Professor Heeren,

\* Thirlwall's *History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 105.

“ the most remarkable were Miletus, Ephesus and Phœacia. Miletus was the principal seat of trade. In the days of her prosperity, she was, next to Tyre and Carthage, the first emporium of the world. Her sea trade was chiefly carried on in the Euxine and the Palus Mæotis, whose shores, on all sides, were occupied by her colonies, amounting, according to some authorities, to more than a hundred. By means of these settlements she monopolized the whole of the northern trade in pulse, dry fish, slaves and furs. Her land trade was carried on by the great *military* road, constructed by the Persians, far into the interior of Asia. Four harbours admitted her vessels; and her naval power was so great, that she had been known, more than once, to fit out, unaided, fleets of from eighty to a hundred sail. The people of Miletus and their colonies were not only sovereigns of the Black Sea, but likewise extended their trade over the whole of Southern Russia, and eastward to the regions beyond the Caspian Sea; that is, to Great Bukharia.”\*

The enemies of public freedom, and especially of republican institutions, are fond of representing the government of the petty republics of ancient Greece as “ a constituted anarchy;” but the magnificent remains which they have left us of their inimitable architecture—the undoubted evidence of their civilization and refinement—sufficiently demonstrate that the government under which such buildings could have been erected must have been both strong and stable, and that both government and people must have been pre-eminently the patrons of the liberal arts. Although the Greeks were unfortunately unacquainted with the representative principle, which, I agree with Chateaubriand in thinking, is rather to be traced to the polity

\* Heeren, *ubi supra*, p. 130.

of the primitive Christian Church than to the forests of Germany, the colonies of each of the three great races that occupied the west coast of Asia Minor, formed distinct federations of sovereign and independent republics; which had regular places of meeting, and which were doubtless serviceable in maintaining a good understanding among their component parts.

“The meetings of the Ionians,” says Bishop Thirlwall, “were held in a spot at the northern foot of Mount Mycale, called from its destination—that of receiving the whole Ionian body—Panionium, and consecrated to the national god, Poseidon. In them too the religious or festive object was almost exclusively predominant. Yet it would appear that in early times there was among the Ionians a tendency of disposition and of circumstances toward a closer union than subsisted among either their northern or their southern neighbours.\*

These federations, however, were sufficiently loose, and from circumstances with which we are unacquainted, were soon dissolved.

“The Ionian cities,” adds Bishop Thirlwall, “were soon completely isolated. No provision was made either for defence against foreign enemies, or for the maintenance of internal tranquillity: there was no common treasure, nor tribunal, nor magistrate, nor laws. Yet it may have been very early, though the time is uncertain, that the Lycians set an example of the manner in which the advantages of a close federal union might be reconciled with mutual independence. They distributed their twenty-three cities into three classes: the cities of the first rank possessed each three votes, those of the second two, those of the least one, and each contributed to a common fund in proportion to its weight in the

\* Thirlwall's *History of Greece*, vol. ii., p. 102.

common council. This was held, not in any fixed place, so as to raise one city to the rank of a capital, but in one appointed for the time by common consent. A supreme magistrate and other officers were here elected; and a court was instituted for the decision of all disputes that might arise between members of the confederacy; the cities contributing in proportion to their rank to fill the places in the national judicature and magistracy: in the same assemblies were discussed all questions relating to peace and war, and the general interests of the united states. Had the Greeks on the western coast of Asia adopted similar institutions, their history, and even that of the mother-country, might have been very different from what it became.

“ But whatever ill effects may be attributed to their want of union, it does not seem immediately to have checked the growth, or to have diminished the prosperity of the several cities. They may perhaps have shot up the more vigorously and luxuriantly from the absence of all restraint. This advantage undoubtedly also resulted from the abolition of the monarchical form of government, which probably took place everywhere within a few generations after the first settlement, though the good was balanced by great evils.”\*

But even taking it for granted that the Grecian republics were merely “constituted anarchies,” there is much truth, as well as meaning, in the observation of the learned historian of the *Middle Ages*, which applies equally to the ancient Grecian republics, and to those of modern Italy: “The wildest excesses of faction are less dishonouring than the stillness and moral degradation of servitude.”† The ancient Greeks doubtless felt with our great writer and poet, Sir Walter Scott, when he

\* Thirlwall's *History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 103.

† Hallam, vol. i. p. 483.



observed, "The feast of fancy will be over with the feeling of independence."\* And they would certainly have sympathised with the poet, when he says, in the very spirit of their own immortal bards,

" Sound, sound the clarion, fill the life ;  
To all the sensual world proclaim,  
One crowded hour of glorious life  
Is worth an age without a name."†

Agreeably to the maxim of the eminent French philosopher—" L'usage que nous devons faire de notre liberté, c'est de nous en servir autant que nous le pouvons ;"‡ " The use we ought to make of our liberty, is to avail ourselves of it as much as we can"—agreeably to this maxim, when the Greeks were precluded from the full enjoyment of their national freedom in one city or State, they emigrated, and straightway recovered it in the founding of another.

It cannot be denied indeed that, in the course of the great Persian war, and chiefly as one of the natural results of that event, an important change took place in the political condition of a considerable number of the Grecian colonies, and that, from being independent before, not a few of these communities became thenceforth mere tributary states. In such a crisis as that war presented for the whole Greek nation, the idea of a common treasury, to which each state should contribute in proportion to its means, for the general expenses of the war, as well as of a common head to direct both offensive and defensive operations, was perfectly natural ; and who so fit to undertake the highly responsible and

\* Diary, in *Life by Lockhart*, vol. vi. p. 163.

† Sir Walter Scott.

‡ Malebranche, *De Inquirenda Veritate*, lib. i. cap. 2.—French Translation.

delicate duty of managing this national treasury, of fixing the due proportions for each of the allies, and of undertaking the general management of the war, as the metropolitan City and State of Athens? The two great Powers of Greece at that period were Athens and Lacedæmon or Sparta; the former a naval Power, like Great Britain, and the latter a military Power, like France: but as a large portion of Greece consists of islands and lands accessible chiefly by sea, it was natural that the maritime Power should acquire the predominance over the inferior States. Annual contributions, however, for any common object are always dangerous to the liberties of such States; for when once acquiesced in by the weaker party, and a precedent established, a ready pretext for their continuance will always be found by ambitious and unscrupulous statesmen; insomuch that a political connection originating in the friendly alliance of sovereign and independent states, is sure to ripen into the supremacy and domination of one, and the compulsory subjection of all the others. Hence the real result of the Persian war was not so much the liberation of Greece as the elevation of Athens to the rank of a metropolitan Power or dominant country at the head of a great federation of tributary and subject states. "The Athenians," says an able but anonymous writer in the interest of Great Britain in the course of the American troubles, "the Athenians suddenly acquired the sovereignty of almost all the islands of the Archipelago, and of the whole of the eastern coast of that sea. The Ionian colonies became their zealous friends, and the Æolians their subjects. Both followed their standard in war, and advanced contributions for the public expense."\*

\* *History of the Colonization of the Free States of Antiquity*, p. 58. London, 1777.

When the relation of a dominant country and a series of dependencies had thus been established between Athens on the one hand, and the free colonies of Ionia and Æolia on the other, the Athenians appear to have reckoned on the permanence of this relation, and to have carried matters with a very high hand towards these subject states ; for in the course of the famous Peloponnesian war, or the long and desperate struggle between Athens and Lacedæmon for the supremacy of Greece, the Lesbians, who had never been a colony of Athens at all, took the first opportunity to revolt, and joined the Lacedæmonians.

“ The Lesbians, an *Æolian colony*,” observes the same writer, “ revolted from the Athenians in the fifth year of the war, and joined the Lacedæmonians. The Athenians were provoked beyond measure by *this unnatural and ungrateful rebellion*. In the first transports of their resentment, they passed the most cruel and bloody vote, that all the males of Lesbos, arrived at the age of puberty, should be put to death, and the women and children sold for slaves ; and they sent the same day a ship with commissioners to see the decree put into execution.

“ When their passions subsided, they began to reflect on what they had done. A meeting of the citizens was therefore convened next day. The former sentence was reviewed, and after much contention, it was carried, by a small majority, to prevent the execution of the former order. The deputies of Lesbos, who had come to plead their cause at Athens, returned on board this last vessel. They procured changes of rowers, that one party might sleep while the other was employed. They offered them the most palatable provisions, and promised the highest rewards, to procure their most vigorous exertions. The former ship had departed full twenty-

four hours before them, and they could not overtake her in her course. They arrived, however, before the Athenian commander had finished the reading of the first order. The Lesbians were immediately assembled, and informed both of their danger and their safety.”\*

When the Lacedæmonians acquired the supremacy of Greece, as the result of the Peloponnesian war, they seem to have outdone the Athenians in the tyranny they exercised over the subject or tributary states; proving, if the thing required any proof, that the liberties of any one people can never be safe in the hands of another. But these successive instances of successful usurpation over the inferior states of that country, on the part of the two great naval and military powers of ancient Greece, are no evidence whatever against the views I have given above of the principle on which colonization uniformly proceeded among the ancient Greeks, viz., that of entire freedom and national independence.

“If the Corinthians tell you,” observe the deputies of the city of Coreyra, a Corinthian colony, in their address to the people of Athens, when soliciting an alliance with the latter,—“if the Corinthians tell you that it is not right for you to form an alliance with us, because we are their colony, they ought to learn that a colony is obliged to respect its Mother-country, only when well used by it. If, on the contrary, it is ill-used by it, it becomes its enemy. It is not to be its slave that it is sent forth as a colony by the Mother-country, but to enjoy entire freedom, and to have the same rights and the same prerogatives as its Mother-country.”†

Indeed the Athenians themselves never pretended to

\* *History of the Colonization of the Free States of Antiquity*, page 58. London, 1777.

† Thucydides, lib. i. 34. 38.

base the authority they exercised, in the period of their power and glory, over the subject states of Greece, on the right of a Mother-country to rule over its colonies; for it was notorious that certain of these states, as for instance the Lesbians, were not Athenian colonies at all. When certain of the minor states called in question the right of Athens to exercise such authority shortly before the Peloponnesian war, the Athenian commissioners put the matter on its right footing, by replying very coolly, as the historian informs us, "In all past times the strongest have been masters: we are not the authors of that law; it is founded in nature."\* In short, the Athenians pretended to no higher right in the authority they exercised over other states, whether colonies or not, than that of the famous Rob Roy Macgregor,—

"That they should take who have the power,  
And they should keep who can."

In regard to the mutual good feeling that continued to subsist for ages between the Mother-country and the many Grecian colonies that were successively planted in Europe, Asia, and Africa, on this principle of entire freedom and independence, I will only give two instances in proof of the fact: the first in the case of a Corinthian, and the second in that of an Athenian colony. "The Syracusans," observes the writer I have just quoted, "oppressed by the tyranny of Dionysius the younger, and harassed and plundered by the Carthaginians, applied to Corinth for aid (in the 108th Olympiad). They received first the famous Timoleon for their general, and ten gallies loaded with supplies; to which afterwards were added ten more, furnished in the same manner.

\* C'est de tout tems que les plus forts sont les maitres; nous ne sommes les auteurs de cette loi; elle est fondee dans la nature.—Thucydides, lib. i. 84. French Translation.

Timoleon banished Dionysius, and expelled the Carthaginians. He made free all the Greek cities in Sicily, and established democracy in Syracuse. The constant wars, however, with which, for a long time, Sicily had been wasted, had almost depopulated the country. Timoleon, therefore, supplicated Greece for a recruit of inhabitants. He caused it to be proclaimed through all the states of Peloponnesus, that the senate and people of Syracuse offered habitations and land to all persons who should repair thither to possess them. The reputation of Sicily for opulence and fertility was so great, that no fewer than 50,000 people emigrated to take possession of the vacant territories; and before this event, 5000 persons had arrived from Corinth.”\*

The other instance is remarkably in point, and is only the more interesting, as the manifestation of kindly feeling which, it shows, subsisted between the Mother-country and her colonies, led to a series of the most memorable events recorded in the history of nations, and eventually gave the Greeks the empire of the world.

When Cyrus, king of Persia, was preparing to subjugate the Grecian cities of Asia Minor, Aristagoras, the political chief of the Ionian city of Miletus, who had been stirring up his fellow-countrymen to resist “the barbarians,” was deputed by the Ionian Confederation to proceed to Greece, to solicit assistance in their approaching struggles in the *Old Country*. He accordingly proceeded in the first instance to Lacedæmon, which was then the head of the most powerful and warlike of the states of Greece. But he was unsuccessful in that quarter, the Lacedæmonians, who were of the

† *History of the Colonization of the Free States of Antiquity*, page 46. London, 1777.

Dorian race, being rather a phlegmatic and unimpressible people; and he therefore proceeded to Athens, the recognised head of the Ionian family, and of which his own native city, Miletus, had been an ancient colony. Aristagoras accordingly addressed the sovereign people of that illustrious City and State in their national assembly; reminding them that Miletus was an ancient colony of their own, and soliciting assistance, on behalf of the Ionian Confederation of Asia Minor, against "the barbarians," the common enemy of the Grecian name. This appeal proved irresistible; the generous Athenians immediately voted the assistance required, and twenty ships of war were accordingly dispatched, in aid of their oppressed and struggling fellow-countrymen, and soon rendezvoused in the harbour of Miletus. No doubt, as Herodotus informs us, "these ships were the beginning of evils both to Greeks and barbarians;"\* for this generous and fraternal procedure on the part of the Athenians undoubtedly led to the invasion of Greece by the Persians, and to the subsequent subversion of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great. But it is impossible not to admire the generous spirit that animated the Athenians on the occasion, in so readily affording the assistance required in their necessity by the people of Miletus, although nearly four hundred years had elapsed since the original settlement of that city by an Athenian colony. And is Christianity, in the middle of the nineteenth century, less likely to maintain a generous and kindly feeling between a Mother-country and her free and independent colonies, than the worship of Jupiter and Apollo five centuries before the Christian era? Shame on the men who for

\* *History of Greece.* By William Mitford, Esq., vol. ii. p. 61.  
*History of Greece.* By John Gillies, Esq., L.L.D., vol. i. p. 369.

one moment could seriously entertain a sentiment so unwarrantable in itself, and so supremely dishonouring to the Christian name!

SECTION XI.—AMERICAN COLONIZATION—ITS PRINCIPLES AND RESULTS.

In a work which I published in the year 1840, on my return to London from a tour of observation in the United States, entitled, *Religion and Education in America*,\* I showed that those states and territories of the American Union, which have been either acquired or settled since the War of Independence, including the great valley of the Mississippi, bear precisely the same relation to the original Thirteen States, as the numerous colonies of Britain do to the United Kingdom. They are to all intents and purposes the colonies of the United States; for as far as the relation of a Mother-country and a colony is concerned, it is of no importance whatever, whether the latter is planted on the same continent or island as the Mother-country, or is separated from it by vast tracts of intervening ocean. This idea, I perceive, has since been put forth by John Arthur Roebuck, Esq., M.P., in his recent work, entitled, *The Colonies of England*, with a view to contrast the progress and extent of colonization in the United States with its progress and extent in the British Empire since the peace of 1783.

And with what a contrast does this view of the two countries present us! The United States commenced their national existence with a population of less than three millions, and that population is already increased considerably more than eight-fold; the increase being chiefly in the colonies, in which a population of upwards

\* *Religion and Education in America*. Ward, Paternoster Row. London, 1840.



of twelve millions have been called into existence, making all due allowance for the natural increase of the population of the original Thirteen States. But Great Britain, with a much larger population to start with,—a population five times greater than that of the United States in the year 1783,—had only a colonial population, properly so called, previous to the era of the gold discoveries, of about a million and-a-half! In short, while Great Britain was enjoying, as abundantly as America, the Divine benediction implied in the first commandment given to mankind, *Be fruitful and multiply*, she had utterly neglected her proper duty, so clearly enjoined in the second part of that commandment, *Replenish the earth and subdue it*,—she had not been filling the world with her cities, like America; she had not been making the wilderness and the solitary place rejoice with the happy abodes of a numerous, virtuous, and Christian population.

In order, however, to set this matter in its proper light, it will be advisable to limit the field of vision to a particular instance of American, as compared with British, colonization; and the instance I shall take is that of New England, or the group of Northern Free States, consisting of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine. New England, I have already had occasion to observe, was colonized, almost exclusively, by the twenty thousand Puritan emigrants who settled in that country between the years 1620 and 1640; the subsequent additions of population from the Mother-country being quite insignificant. In the year 1790, when the first census of the United States was taken, the population of New England amounted to 1,009,522; having doubled itself every twenty-seven years or thereby, from the year 1640. During the next fifty years, however, it little more than

doubled itself, its amount in 1840 being only 2,229,859; but this arose entirely from the enormous emigration of the intervening period, which we are now to compare with that of Great Britain,—the great colonizing power, forsooth, of modern times. The population of Great Britain, therefore, or rather of the United Kingdom, in the year 1790, was 14,000,000, and it had not even doubled itself during the next fifty years; the amount in 1841 being only 27,041,031. In so far therefore as the internal increase is concerned, there is no great disparity, although the balance is considerably in favour of New England. In regard, however, to their respective colonizing powers, the two countries were remarkably different from each other; their population being respectively as follows, viz. :—

Old England—Population in 1790 = 14,000,000.

New England—Population in 1790 = 1,009,522.\*

I will not introduce any disturbing element into the question, by reminding the reader that Great Britain had the advantage of all the American Loyalists to start with, in Nova Scotia and elsewhere; for it is quite evident that these Loyalists must have been the merest handful of people,—and the circumstance constitutes, without exception, the most condemnatory sentence that has ever been pronounced upon the colonial policy of the British Empire to the present day. That after an imperial rule of upwards of a hundred and fifty years,—with all the numberless means of acquiring and consolidating power, extending influence, and practising corruption, which that rule had given the Mother-country throughout this long period,—there was nobody to

\* The population of Great Britain doubles itself every 48 years, and that of the United States every 30 years; but the numbers I have given are sufficiently near the truth for all practical purposes.

take her part in the great struggle with her colonies but the miserable handful of American Loyalists ;

“ 'Twas strange, 'twas passing strange !  
 'Twas pitiful, 'twas wondrous pitiful ! ”  
 “ For dust was thrown upon her sacred head,  
 And no man cried, *God bless her !* ”

but this insignificant handful of American Loyalists, who probably expected to be well paid for their loyalty all the while, and who certainly never dreamt that the Americans would gain the day !

Behold, then, these two brave countries,—Old England and New England,—starting fair in this race of colonization, in the year of grace 1790 ; the former with her fourteen millions of people and her boundless resources in ships, colonies, and commerce ; the latter with only one million of people, almost all as poor as Lazarus, as they had but just escaped *with the skin of their teeth* from an unnatural and calamitous war !

It is an interesting and very remarkable fact in the history of the internal emigration and colonization of the United States, that it has uniformly proceeded upon a parallel of latitude from the point of departure ; the Northern, Middle, and Southern States throwing off their respective swarms of emigrants every year to the regions due west of them respectively ; deflecting very little, if at all, from that parallel either north or south. Since the annexation of Texas and California, indeed, this order of things has been somewhat deranged ; but from the peace of 1783, till the year 1840, it had been, with only few, and these unimportant, exceptions, the general rule in the United States ; each state, or group of states, colonizing the unoccupied territories due west of itself. New England, as being the most densely peopled, as well as the most limited in extent, and the least fertile, portion of the original Union, was first in

the field as a colonizing country; for emigration had thus become a matter of necessity for the inhabitants of that region, and the highly favourable accounts that were received from time to time from the first emigrants to the westward, soon rendered it a perfect passion; insomuch that the emigration from New England alone, which had commenced soon after the peace of 1783, reached in one year at the commencement of the present century, when the whole European emigration to America was perfectly insignificant, the almost incredible amount of 300,000 souls!\*

The country that was first colonized in this way from New England was the western portion of the State of New York, and the State of Ohio; both of which countries are literally New England colonies. A large portion of the waste lands in these extensive regions had been allotted by the National Congress, as the only recompense which the country had to give them for their services, to the soldiers of the Revolution; many of whom sold their tickets of location for the merest trifle to the leaders of the successive colonies from New England. One of these tickets happened to be given by his client, an old Revolutionary soldier, to a country lawyer in the State of New York, as the only fee he could offer him for conducting and gaining a law-suit for him. The lawyer placed it in his desk, as an article that might one day have some assignable value, but had none then. A good many years thereafter, when the flood-tide of New England emigration had been flowing for years in the direction of the region to which this

\* Dr. Seybert, an eminent American statistical writer, estimates the number of foreign emigrants who arrived in the United States from the year 1790 to the year 1810, at 120,000 altogether, or 6,000 per annum; and Mr. McGregor estimates the number from 1810 to 1820 at 114,000. These were evidently but inconsiderable additions, when compared with the natural increase from the American stock.

location ticket referred, the lawyer wrote to a friend in the western country, inquiring what the value of his property thereabout might be,—and the answer he received was “Seventy-five thousand dollars, and rapidly rising!” It was the possession of this property that enabled that lawyer, who proved to be a man of superior ability, to devote himself to the service of his country, first in the legislature of his native State, and afterwards as a member of Congress, at Washington, where I had the honour of being introduced to him, in the year 1840, as President of the United States. The distinguished individual I allude to was Mr. Martin Van Buren.

When the emigrants from New England had spread themselves over the western portion of the State of New York and the whole State of Ohio, they afterwards overran and occupied successively the subsequently formed States of Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. It is perfectly fair, therefore, to consider the whole of these countries as the colonies of New England; for although a considerable number of emigrants from the Middle States, and also from Europe, settled in all of them from time to time, a much larger number of New Englanders had in the mean time been scattered over the whole of the other States of the Union, and particularly over the State of Kentucky, in the various capacities of professional men, merchants, traders and artisans of all kinds, as well as planters and farmers. The population of these New England colonies, in the year 1840, was as follows, viz. :—

Western half of the State of New York ...	1,214,460
Ohio .....	1,519,467
Indiana .....	688,315
Illinois.....	474,403
Michigan.....	211,705

Total Colonial population of New England  
in the year 1840.....= 4,103,349

Such then were the magnificent results of the colonizing efforts of New England during a period of fifty years; commencing, although it did, with a colonizing power of only one million of souls, and the scantiest resources otherwise. But the entire colonial population (properly so called) of Great Britain, originating, although it did, in a colonizing power of fourteen millions of people, with boundless resources of every kind, amounted, in or about the year 1840, to not more than 1,161,009 souls; even throwing the whole convict emigration of the Empire, with all its increase for fifty years, like the sword and belt of Brennus, as a make-weight, into the scale!

It is worthy of special observation that the State of Ohio, which contained a population of a million and-a-half in the year 1840, was settled in the very same year (the year 1788) as New South Wales, of which the whole population in the year 1841 was only 130,856, considerably less than a tenth part of the population of the American State.\*

Surely then if the art of colonization has been lost, as it seems to have been, in Old England, it has been found again in New England; for I question whether even the ancient Greeks ever surpassed the New Englanders in that noble art, that *heroic work*.

What then is the reason—for there surely must be some adequate reason—for the prodigious difference in the two results? Why, the answer is plain and obvious to the meanest capacity:—America, like the ancient

\* The first settlement in Ohio was formed in 1788; but its growth was impeded, for several years, by sudden wars, and by the exaggerated notions which prevailed of the unhealthiness and other perils of the wilderness. In 1840, however, it contained 1,519,000 inhabitants, and was then the third State in the Union. Merivale, vol. ii. p. 47.

Greeks, gives her colonies freedom and independence from the first; whereas Great Britain has uniformly withheld everything like manly freedom from her colonies, has treated them with the coldest neglect and the grossest injustice, and has harassed and oppressed them in every possible way with the incubus and the curse of her Colonial Office to the present hour. Yes! instead of insulting her colonies by offering them, what certain *soi-disant* colonial reformers in England think it would be a great deal indeed for Great Britain to offer hers, viz., municipal independence,—which signifies allowing them to manage for themselves in all little matters, and leaving all important ones to be managed for them at home, or, in other words, by the Colonial Office—instead of insulting her colonies by offering them municipal independence, America gives them at once complete independence; that is, the entire control of all matters affecting their interests, as men and as citizens, in every possible way. In short, America realizes the *beau ideal* which, the ancient Locrians indignantly reminded the Corinthians, was the implied condition of their own emigration—she makes her colonies in every respect like herself; she treats her colonists not as her slaves or subjects, but as her equals.

In particular, whenever a number of American colonists, equal to about one-fourth, of the present number of the inhabitants of the British colony of New South Wales—that is 60,000 altogether—are congregated in any American colony, they have a right, under the American colonization system, to meet together and form a Constitution for themselves. They may have a Legislature, either of one or of two Houses, as they please; they may fix the franchise either high or low, as they choose; they may elect whatever public officers they think necessary for the management of their

affairs, and pay these officers whatever salaries they think proper; they may make the best possible arrangements that suggest themselves to their own minds for the construction of roads and bridges, the maintenance of schools and colleges, the dispensation of justice, and the punishment of crime; and they may choose whomsoever they consider the fittest and properest persons to represent them in the National Legislature, to deliberate upon all those great questions of foreign relations, peace and war, customs' duties, public lands, and the general post office—in which they have a common interest with the rest of the nation. In one word, America gives her colonies all that the ancient Greeks ever gave theirs—entire freedom and independence; admitting them upon perfectly equal terms with herself into the great National Confederation.

And the result is precisely what might have been anticipated—colonization directs itself towards the Waste Lands of the United States, while those of the British Colonies, with a much better climate, are passed by and disregarded. Witness the emigration from the United Kingdom during the last two years: it amounted

In 1852, to 368,764.

In 1853, to 318,680.

And whither did these emigrants direct their steps? Why, not fewer than 224,000 in 1852 and 225,258 in 1853 emigrated from Great Britain and Ireland to the United States, while the emigration to British America, during the same years, respectively, was, in 1852, only 33,563; and in 1853, only 30,563; and to Australia, in 1852, 87,000, and in 1853, 59,931. Notwithstanding, therefore, the powerful impulse that was given to emigration throughout the United Kingdom, by the discovery of gold in Australia, the full tide of emigration



from Great Britain was still directed towards the United States, and the claims of the British colonies, with all their superior advantages, were treated with derision. In one word, this humiliating state of things was entirely the result of bad government and the lust of empire on the part of Great Britain.

It may not be out of place to glance at the results of this lust of empire and bad government of the colonies, on the part of Great Britain, in the interesting and important light of her duty and obligations as the head of European Protestantism.

At an early period after the great Protestant Reformation, Great Britain was elevated to the high and honourable position of the first Protestant nation in Christendom; and there was given her a colonial empire such as no other Protestant nation has ever possessed. Her peculiar mission among the nations—her high and holy mission—was therefore to colonize the waste places of the earth with her Protestant people; and we have only to look at the magnificent results of the colonization of New England, that noblest colony ever planted by man, to have some idea of what Britain might have done for the cause of God and of Protestantism, had she only done her duty, had she only fulfilled her mission. In two centuries exactly, the twenty thousand Puritans of New England had become a great people of two millions and-a-quarter; and during the last half century before the close of that period, they had called into existence a colonial and thoroughly Protestant population besides, of upwards of four millions of souls!

“We often hear it said,” observes the eloquent historian of England, “that the world is constantly becoming more and more enlightened, and that this enlightening must be favourable to Protestantism, and unfavourable to Catholicism. We wish that we could think so. But

we see great reason to doubt whether this be a well founded expectation. We see that during the last two hundred and fifty years the human mind has been in the highest degree active; that it has made great advances in every branch of natural philosophy; that it has produced innumerable inventions tending to promote the convenience of life; that medicine, surgery, chemistry, engineering have been very greatly improved; that government, police, and law have been improved, though not to so great an extent as the physical sciences. Yet we see that during these two hundred and fifty years Protestantism has made no conquest worth speaking of. Nay, we believe that as far as there has been a change, that change has, on the whole, been in favour of the Church of Rome.”\*

“In fifty years from the day on which Luther publicly renounced communion with the Papacy, and burnt the bull of Leo before the gates of Wittenberg, Protestantism attained its highest ascendancy, an ascendancy which it soon lost, and which it has never regained. Hundreds, who could well remember Brother Martin a devout Catholic, lived to see the revolution, of which he was the chief author, victorious in half the States of Europe. In England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Livonia, Prussia, Saxony, Hesse, Wirtemberg, the Palatinate, in several cantons of Switzerland, in the Northern Netherlands, the Reformation had completely triumphed; and in all the other countries on this side of the Alps and the Pyrenees, it seemed on the point of triumphing.”†

Admitting, therefore, the indisputable fact, that the progress of the Reformation was suddenly checked throughout European Christendom within fifty years after the burning of the Pope's bull at Wittenberg, it

\* Macaulay's *Essays*, vol. iii. p. 208.

† *Ibid.* p. 221.

is a fact equally indisputable, that just about the period when Protestantism received its great check in Europe, Great Britain, as the first of the Protestant nations of Europe, had a vast colonial empire given her beyond seas, which she has been constantly increasing from time to time to the present day; and within that vast empire, the field for the maintenance and extension of her national Protestantism, by means of British colonization, has been open and unlimited these two hundred and fifty years. And what has Great Britain done for the extension of our common Protestantism over that vast field these two centuries and-a-half? Literally nothing that deserves to be mentioned! All her efforts in this way throughout this long period sink into insignificance compared with those even of her own colony of New England in half a century; for it is another indisputable fact, although Mr. Macaulay has not mentioned it, as he ought to have done, that the United States of America is the only country in Christendom in which Protestantism has really been extending its area—*lengthening its cords and strengthening its stakes*—these two hundred and fifty years; and this extension has taken place principally, if not exclusively, since the era of Freedom and Independence.

If Great Britain, therefore, is to be considered the *bulwark of the Reformation*, it can only be in the sense of keeping it back, and confining it within the ancient territorial limits which it had already attained only a few years after the death of Luther. Her gross neglect or misuse of the power which Divine Providence had given her of extending it far and wide over continent and isle, by means of British colonization, “stereotyped the Reformation at that early period, and it has ever since been printed from the same plates.” And this result, as I have shown sufficiently, has in no respect

been due to any want of enterprise or energy on the part of her people, but simply and solely to her own unhallowed lust of empire—to her uniform and systematic refusal of that self-government, that freedom and independence, to which her colonists had an inherent and indefeasible right by the law of nature and the ordinance of God.

Instead, therefore, of pluming herself for the services she has rendered to the Protestant Reformation, let Great Britain hang her diminished head, and listen in silence to the sentence that awaits her, for having ruined its interests and betrayed its cause. For it is entirely owing to her neglect of duty, her breach of trust, in regard to this vital interest of Protestantism, that the Reformation cannot now number up millions and millions of a people of British origin and Protestant religion, in countries that are still tenanted only by the grizzly bear or the timid kangaroo. Whether the lamentable shortcomings of Great Britain, in the non-fulfilment of her high and holy mission, are not sufficient to involve a forfeiture of her colonial empire in the high court of heaven, it is not for me to determine; but methinks I see the handwriting against her upon the wall—methinks I hear this forfeiture declared by a voice from the Eternal!

The loss annually sustained by the British nation, through this gross mismanagement of the British colonies, is incalculable, while the gain to the United States is correspondingly great; for much, if not all, that we lose through our *bad* system, they gain through their *good* one. In particular, no foreigners emigrate voluntarily to the British colonies; but the influx of foreigners—many of them people of substance as well as of respectable standing in society—into the colonies of the United States is very great; and the Union receives annually

a large accession both of wealth and strength from this source. In the year 1853 not fewer than 119,474 Germans landed in the United States at the Port of New York alone, besides the many thousands who had landed at the more southern ports of Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, Savannah and New Orleans. And many of these German immigrants are people of considerable wealth. By dint of great exertion in certain quarters, there has of late been a considerable German emigration to South Australia and Port Phillip; but the voluntary and self-originated emigration from Germany is all to the United States; and the fact can only be regarded as a strong condemnation by foreigners of our colonization system, as compared with that of the United States.

But the number even of British subjects, of the middle and more respectable classes of society, who annually emigrate to the United States, is, as I have already demonstrated, beyond all comparison greater than that of those who emigrate voluntarily to the British colonies. I have myself known many instances of persons of this class who greatly preferred our Australian climate to that of the United States, and who would gladly have cast in their lot with a British rather than with an American community; but who made up their minds at last to emigrate to America from their thorough detestation of our colonial system. Now, when it is considered that every inhabitant of the United States consumes only about seven shillings and sixpence worth of British produce and manufactures annually, whereas every inhabitant of the Australian colonies consumes from seven to ten pounds' worth, the loss which Great Britain sustains in this way must be immense.

But the strangest and most humiliating fact of all, in illustration and in condemnation of our colonization

system, as compared with that of the United States, is the wholesale emigration to America from Ireland for years past, and the abject character and condition of a large proportion of the emigrants. These emigrants, it is well known, are "the hewers of wood and the drawers of water" in the United States; they are employed in all manner of servile work, as diggers of canals, as labourers upon the earth-works of railways—in doing every thing, in short, that the humblest American workman disdains to do. Now, what a humiliating and degrading condition is this for any Country in Christendom, and especially for any portion of the United Kingdom, to be reduced to—to be a mere breeding state, like Virginia, for the rearing of "white niggers," as they are technically called over the water, for the haughty republicans of America! The very idea is sufficient to make one's blood boil with virtuous indignation. "Look at Ireland," said the Duke of Sotomayor to Lord Palmerston, when the latter was tendering his advice, somewhat unseasonably, as to the internal government of Spain: "Look at Ireland!" For my own part, as a Christian man, I cannot help thinking that it would have been far less dishonourable to Great Britain to have been defeated either at Trafalgar or Waterloo, than to have allowed a foreigner, and that foreigner a Spaniard too, to speak these three words to a British Minister. It is no disgrace to a great nation to be defeated in a just cause, taking it for granted that the cause in both these cases was a just one, which is somewhat doubtful; but it is a deep disgrace to any nation to allow whole masses of its people to sink into such a condition of social degradation as to warrant the whole volume of charges implied in the speech of the Duke of Sotomayor, "Look at Ireland!" We may naturally feel indignant at Cicero's telling us, as we shall find he does, that

there was nothing to be got in Britain in his time but slaves, and even these of so inferior a class, that one could not pick out either a schoolmaster or a fiddler from a whole ship-load of them! But there is a much worthier object for our indignation here; for what is the wholesale emigration from Ireland to the United States but a species of "white slavery," with which we condescend to furnish America, simply because her colonization system is incomparably better than ours, and because that better system alone enables her to employ our surplus poor, whom we are glad to get rid of, after having first degraded them to the level of slaves? For I have no hesitation in expressing my decided opinion that, if the extraordinary facilities which the British empire affords for colonization were only turned to account, by giving her Australian colonies entire freedom and independence, *on condition of their co-operating with the Mother-country in carrying out a great system of national emigration*, every overburdened class of society in the United Kingdom would speedily be relieved; competition in every branch of business would be diminished; poverty and destitution would in great measure disappear from the face of society, and crime would be wonderfully lessened in amount. It is her colonies that serve as the safety-valve for America; and I am confident the time is not too late even yet for her present colonies to prove the safety-valve for Great Britain also. The extent of destitution and suffering that result from a redundancy of population is much greater, and the amount of emigration that is necessary to have a salutary effect upon a country suffering from such a redundancy, is much smaller than is generally supposed. It is the last ounce that breaks the back of the camel—it is the last drop that makes the pitcher overflow.

## SECTION XII.—ROMAN COLONIZATION, AND THE ROMAN COLONY OF BRITAIN.

Baron Niebuhr, in his celebrated History of Rome, gives the following definition of a Roman colony:—

“A colony is a company of people, led at the same time and in one body to a certain place furnished with dwellings, in order to live there under certain legal conditions: they may be citizens or dependents sent out to form a commonwealth, according to a decree of their state, or of that to which they are subject; but not such as have seceded during a time of civil dissension.”\*

There was therefore this essential difference between a Grecian and a Roman colony, that whereas the former, although occasionally the result of an act of the state, was not necessarily so, and was often indeed an association of families and individuals opposed to the party in power, the latter was always the result of a decree of the Senate. The Grecian colonists almost uniformly defrayed the expenses of their own emigration and settlement; while the Roman, like the earlier settlers in New South Wales, had grants of land and a free passage *out*, with rations and other indulgences, including an ample supply of slave labour, from the State. The Grecian colonies, moreover, were founded, either to relieve the Mother-country of the pressure of a redundant population, or to provide places of refuge and settlement for those, whether unquiet spirits or not, for whom the Mother-country had become a great deal too hot; but the Roman colonies were formed expressly to extend the limits of the empire, or to hold, by military occupation, territories which had been acquired by force of arms. The Grecian colonies were therefore free cities, supporting themselves by agriculture and commerce, and defending themselves from the surrounding barbarians,

\* Niebuhr's *Rome*, vol. ii. p. 43.



till they could subjugate and civilize them, by their own warlike prowess: the Roman colonies were mere garrison towns on the frontiers of the empire, and the lands were held by the leading colonists on a tenure somewhat similar to that of the feudal system, each large estate being a knight's fee.\*

\* McCulloch, in his *Dictionary of Commerce*, under the Article *Colonies*, gives the following account of the Roman colonies. "The Roman colonies were, for the most part, founded by and under the authority of Government; being intended to serve both as outlets for poor and discontented citizens, and as military stations, or garrisons, to secure the subjection of the conquered provinces over which they were scattered. The most intimate political union was always maintained between them and the Mother-city. Their internal government was modelled on that of Rome; and, while their superior officers were mostly sent from the capital, they were made to contribute their full quota of troops and taxes, to assist in carrying on the contests in which the Republic was almost constantly engaged."

The last of the Roman colonies was that of Dacia, a province which had been conquered by the Emperor Trajan at the commencement of the second century. It comprised the extensive country on the left bank of the Danube, including part of Hungary, Transylvania, and the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, which are now the seat of war between the Russians and the Turks. The Dacian colony consisted of 30,000 soldier-colonists; and it is somewhat remarkable that the descendants of these colonists, who are a comparatively poor people, employed in pastoral pursuits and agriculture along the flanks of the Carpathian mountains, still speak a barbarous dialect of the Latin language to the present day. (See *Overland Journey from Constantinople to London*. By Rev. — Walsh, Chaplain to the British Embassy at Constantinople. London, 1823.)

This conquest of Dacia by the Emperor Trajan is thus alluded to by the contemporary poet Statius, in the first Book of his *Thebais*, as translated by Pope:—

Nor yet attempt to stretch thy bolder wing,  
 And mighty Cæsar's conquering eagles sing;  
 How twice he tamed proud Ister's rapid flood,  
 While Dacian mountains streamed with barbarous blood;  
 Twice taught the Rhine beneath his laws to roll,  
 And stretched his Empire to the frozen Pole.

It was under this peculiar system of colonization that the island of Britain was conquered and colonized by the Romans under Julius Cæsar, about fifty years before the Christian era; and the following incidental notice, which is given us in the letters of Cicero, of the state of the island at that early period, and of the Roman estimate of its inhabitants and capabilities, is certainly by no means flattering to our national vanity.

“We are all on tiptoe to hear of the issue of the war in Britain: for it appears that the approaches of the island are defended with works of prodigious strength. As for money, it has already been ascertained that there is not one silver sixpence to be got in the island, and there is not the slightest hope of booty, except from slaves; and I presume you will scarcely expect any schoolmasters or fiddlers from such a quarter.”\*

Cicero’s correspondent, Atticus, had probably requested him to purchase for him some well-educated slave, probably as a private tutor for his nephews, Caius and Marcus, and especially to teach them instrumental music; but no British-born slave of that period possessed such high qualifications! The reader will probably suppose that it would be out of the question to talk of slaves from the British islands in any part of the world now. If so, let him only look at Ireland emigrating wholesale to the United States.

There was a good deal of hard fighting, as usual, in the Roman conquest of Britain,† of which the reader

\* “Britannici belli exitus expectatur. Constat enim aditus insulæ esse munitos mirificis molibus. Etiam illud jam cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse ullum in illa insula, neque ullam spem prædæ, nisi ex mancipiis: ex quibus nullos puto te literis aut musicis eruditos expectare.” Cicero. *Epist. ad Atticum*, lib. iv. 16.

† The Roman conquest of Britain appears to have been a work of great difficulty, and required a whole series of bloody battles to

who desires it will find a full and particular account in the proper place; but Britain, or rather the southern portion of the island, was fairly conquered at last, and proclaimed a Roman colony with the customary formalities; liberal grants of the waste lands in the island being held forth to intending emigrants of the requisite qualifications, with the other indulgences enumerated above. From the first *Eclogue* of Virgil, which may be regarded as a sort of *Anti-Emigration Circular* of the day, we learn that Britain was one of the regular *Emigration Fields* of the empire for carrying off the redundant population and the unquiet spirits of Italy, during the reign of the Emperor Augustus; although it does not appear to have stood very high in public estimation at Rome, being regarded by intending emigrants in much the same light as the *Falkland Islands* in our own time. This is pretty evident from Virgil's mentioning it last of all, with anything but a note of recommendation; for he hints that where there might be a possibility of getting home again from other colonies, there was no hope of returning if you went *there*.

“ At nos hinc alii sitientes ibimus Afros,  
Pars Scythiam, et rapidum Cretæ veniemus Oaxem,  
Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.”

“ But we, alas, must leave our native land,  
To pitch our tents on Afric's burning sand,  
Or range the Scythian wilds with weary feet,  
Or build our wigwams on the streams of Crete;  
Or, sadder still! on Britain's distant shore,  
Ne'er to be seen or known of mankind more!”

In short, Britain was virtually as far from Italy in effect it—first with the different tribes of Britons, and afterwards with the Picts and Scots or Caledonians—from the landing of Julius Cæsar in the year 50 before Christ, till the conquest of Agricola at the close of the first century of the Christian era.

Virgil's time, as New Zealand is from England in ours ; while the dangers of the voyage were incomparably greater, considering the comparative facilities of ancient and modern navigation.

And yet the island did get colonized notwithstanding, and became in time a first-rate Roman colony ; the garrison towns all over the country being transformed successively, as they became wealthy and populous, into Roman municipal cities, enjoying, within certain well-defined limits, the privilege of self-government, and exhibiting in no inconsiderable degree the civilization and refinement of Rome. The numerous English cities and towns of the present day, of which the names end in *chester*, *cester*, *caster*, and even *castle*, mark the sites of these ancient Roman municipalities, which were originally only *Castra* or *Castella*, *Camps* or *Forts* ; and they exhibit, in the most unmistakeable manner, the extent and progress of Roman colonization in our island. It extended at one time as far north as the Friths of Clyde and Forth, where the Emperor Antoninus threw a wall across the island, the remains of which are now called "Graham's Dike," to protect the colonists from the incursions of the Scots and Picts of the north. These barbarians, like the Caffres of the present day, came down occasionally upon the colonists in great force, carrying off much valuable booty to their hills ; and it was even alleged, as is stated by the historian Gibbon, that they were somewhat addicted to cannibalism, "preferring the shepherd to his flock."\*

\* This is related of a Caledonian tribe of the period, whose headquarters were somewhere near the site of the present city of Glasgow, and who were called the *Attacotti*. But Gibbon was probably not aware that savages are in the habit of accusing other tribes of their own countrymen, with whom they are at variance, of cannibalism, to prejudice the civilized race against them, and thereby to

These incursions became so frequent and disastrous that the Emperor Severus at length contracted the limits of the colony, by throwing a second wall across the island from the Solway Frith to the German ocean; and within these limits it continued to increase and prosper till the beginning of the fifth century, when it numbered not fewer than ninety-two considerable towns, including thirty-three municipal cities, having all the privileges and appendages of such cities throughout the Roman empire.\* As an interesting particular in the

serve their own purposes. There is nothing more common among the aborigines of New South Wales. I am somewhat concerned in this matter personally, being a native of the town of Greenock, near Glasgow. If the ancient savages of that neighbourhood ever did eat any Roman colonists, it is evident, to use the language of the Rev. Sidney Smith, that they must have "disagreed" with them, as their posterity have an utter aversion to everything Roman now.

\* There were actually three walls erected by the Romans across the island of Britain, while that island, or rather the southern portion of it, was a Roman colony; and the circumstance affords us no mean idea of the formidable character of the ancient Caledonians, or Scots and Picts, whom these walls were intended to keep out of the colony. The first wall was erected under the Emperor Adrian, in the year 120, by his prefect, or Governor of Britain, Julius Severus. It was a rampart of earth, covered with turf, extending from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway Frith, about eighty Roman miles. About twenty years later, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, A. D. 140, the Caledonians having in the meantime broken down this rampart in various places, and ravaged the colony, the Emperor directed his Prefect, or Governor of Britain, Lollius Urbicus, to proceed against them, which he did accordingly, constructing at the same time a second wall or rampart, thirty-seven miles long, from the Frith of Forth to the Frith of Clyde. It was formed of turf, on a foundation of stone, and was four yards in thickness, with a moat or fosse in front. But the Caledonians had as little respect for this second wall as they had had for that of Adrian; and in the year 208, the Emperor Septimius Severus marched against them in person at the head of his

history of the times, as exhibiting the state of Roman civilization in the colony of Britain, we learn from the poet Juvenal, who flourished in the reign of the Emperor Nero in the first, and of Trajan in the second century, that it was customary, in his time, for young gentlemen of Britain, who were studying for the bar, with a view to the practice of their profession in the Roman courts of the municipal cities of the island, to cross over to France for their education.\*

Such then was the state of Britain at the commencement of the fifth century. It was a Roman colony of four hundred and fifty years standing; wealthy and populous, with all the appendages and advantages of Roman civilization, and having a degree of freedom, moreover, under the municipal institutions of Rome,

numerous army in Britain; but having experienced great losses in the *inhospitable* country, he deemed it better to abandon the northern portion of the colony to the barbarians altogether, and accordingly constructed a third wall across the island nearly in the same line with that of Adrian, from Newcastle on Tyne to the Solway Frith. This wall was built of freestone and was eight feet thick and twelve in height. It was upwards of sixty-eight English miles in length, and had a tower or castle of sixty feet square every three quarters of a mile throughout its whole extent. And between every two of these castles there were four turrets of twelve feet square, 300 yards apart from each other. This wall was called by the Britons "Mursever," or Valsever," evidently a corruption of *Murus*, or *Vallum Severi*. The poet, Spenser, knew it by the latter name, and calls it Gualsever.

Next there came Tyne, along whose stony bank  
That Roman monarch built a brazen wall,  
Which mote the feebled Britons strongly flank  
Against the Picts, that swarmed over all,  
Which yet thereof Gualsever they do call.

*Spenser's Faery Queen.*

- "Gallia cauidicos docuit facunda Britannos:  
De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thule."—*Juvenal.*

such as no British colony of the present day in Australia is permitted to enjoy. And yet there was one thing wanting—that one thing which the Greek colonies uniformly had from the first—that is, their entire freedom and national independence; and the first opportunity that presented itself of achieving these great benefits and blessings for their adopted country was accordingly seized with avidity by the Roman colonists of Britain, who thenceforth became free and independent.\* This important event, so deeply interesting to every Briton, but especially to every British colonist, is related in the following language by the eloquent historian of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*:—

“Whilst Italy was ravaged by the Goths, and a succession of feeble tyrants oppressed the provinces beyond the Alps, *the British island separated itself from the body of the Roman empire.* The regular forces which guarded that remote province, had been gradually withdrawn; and Britain was abandoned, without defence, to the Saxon pirates and the savages of Ireland and Caledonia. *The Britons, reduced to this extremity, no longer relied on the tardy and doubtful aid of a declining monarchy. They assembled in arms, repelled the invaders, and rejoiced in the important discovery of their own strength.* Afflicted by similar calamities, and actuated by the same spirit, the Armorican provinces (a name which comprehended the maritime countries of

\* This most interesting event is described in the following manner by the descendants of the ancient Britons themselves. “Having oppressed the island for four hundred years, and exacted an annual tribute of three thousand pounds of silver, they (that is the Romans) departed for the land of Rome, to repel the invasion of the black horde, leaving behind them only women and children of tender age, who all became Cambrians.”—*Welsh Chronicle, quoted in History of the Conquest of England by the Normans.* By A. Thierry, vol. i. p. 7.

Gaul, between the Seine and the Loire) resolved to imitate the example of the neighbouring Island. They expelled the Roman magistrates, who acted under the authority of the usurper Constantine; and a free government was established among a people who had so long been subject to the arbitrary will of a master. *The independence of Britain and Armorica was soon confirmed by Honorius himself, the lawful Emperor of the West, and the letters, by which he committed to the new States the care of their own safety, might be interpreted as an absolute and perpetual abdication of the exercise and rights of sovereignty.* This interpretation was, in some measure, justified by the event. After the usurpers of Gaul had successively fallen, the maritime provinces were restored to the empire. Yet their obedience was imperfect and precarious; the vain, inconstant, rebellious disposition of the people, was incompatible either with freedom or servitude; and Armorica, though it could not long maintain the form of a republic, was agitated by frequent and destructive revolts. *Britain was irrecoverably lost (anno 409). But as the Emperor wisely acquiesced in the independence of a remote province, the separation was not embittered by the reproach of tyranny or rebellion; and the claims of allegiance and protection were succeeded by the mutual and voluntary offices of national freedom.*

“This revolution dissolved the artificial fabric of civil and military government, and the independent country, during a period of forty years, till the descent of the Saxons, was ruled by the authority of the clergy, the nobles, and the municipal towns. Zosimus, who alone has preserved the memory of this singular transaction, very accurately observes, that the letters of Honorius were addressed to the *cities* of Britain. Under



the protection of the Romans, ninety-two considerable towns had arisen in the several parts of that great province; and, among these, thirty-three cities were distinguished above the rest, by their superior privileges and importance. Each of these cities, as in all the other provinces of the empire, formed a legal corporation, for the purpose of regulating their domestic policy; and the powers of municipal government were distributed among annual magistrates, a select senate, and the assembly of the people, according to the original model of the Roman constitution. The management of a common revenue, the exercise of civil and criminal jurisdiction, and the habits of public counsel and command, were inherent to these petty republics; and when they asserted their independence, the youth of the city, and the adjacent districts, would naturally range themselves under the standard of the magistrate.”\*

From this very interesting narrative, we learn—

1. That the colonists of Britain, although enjoying a considerable degree of freedom under the admirable municipal institutions of Rome, nevertheless embraced the first opportunity that offered, of achieving their entire freedom and national independence; which were afterwards formally guaranteed to them by the Emperor Honorius: and,

2. That for forty years, previous to the Saxon irruption, the government of the island was administered by a Confederation of Sovereign and Independent Republics, on the model of the ancient Republic of Rome.

It was no disparagement to the Roman colonists of Britain, that their country was so speedily overrun, and their whole national system subverted and destroyed by

\* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. iv. p. 169. London, 1825.

the northern barbarians. In that gloomy and disastrous period, this was the common fate of every Roman province in succession, till Rome itself fell, and was sacked by the Goths. A people long habituated to the arts of peace were but ill fitted to withstand the furious onset of the half-savage hordes of the north, especially at a time when fire-arms were unknown; but the circumstance that every vestige of Roman civilization, as well as of the Roman language, was swept away, and no trace of either left in the Anglo-Saxon institutions, or the Anglo-Saxon tongue of the country, sufficiently declares how hard a struggle the Anglo-Saxons must have had ere they conquered the island, and how every successive city, as it fell, must have been put to the sword by the ruthless conquerors.

There is only one reflection that suggests itself on the review of this transaction,—and it is this: if the Roman colonists of Britain were entitled to their freedom and independence, under the reign of the Emperor Honorius, when they seized upon that freedom and independence themselves, why should we, the British colonists of Australia, be refused our freedom and independence under the reign of Queen Victoria? \* Why should we

\* There is a remarkable coincidence in the case of the ancient Roman colonists of Britain with our own, which is well worthy of special notice. In the year 409, when they put forth their Declaration of Independence, they had thirty-three Municipal cities or Borough towns in the island, and fifty-eight inferior towns and villages. Now as the rank of a Roman municipality would scarcely be conferred on any city or town in Britain till it had attained a population of 4,000 souls, and as population in these times of war and inroad, was much more concentrated in walled towns and strongly defended villages than at present, there is reason to believe that nearly one-half of the entire population of the Roman colony would be resident in towns, and that the entire population would amount to at least half a million of souls, that is, a popu-

be accounted either rebels or criminals, if we earnestly desire and endeavour to accomplish that freedom and independence for ourselves? Is it because we are nearer Great Britain, than the ancient Roman colonists of Britain were to Rome? This will surely not be pretended. What then will stand in the way of the attainment of our natural and inherent rights as British colonists, able and willing to manage our own affairs in

lation nearly equal to that of the three great colonies of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia at the present day. Now if half a million of Roman colonists in Britain did a praiseworthy and noble action, as every honest right-hearted man will allow they did, in asserting their freedom and independence in the fifth century, why should half a million of British colonists in Australia be precluded from following their noble example in the nineteenth century? Are we less intelligent or less able to defend ourselves than the Roman colonists of Britain at the period in question? The Scots and Picts, so much dreaded by the Roman colonists of Britain, are all civilized now, and would willingly fraternize in this movement; for there is no wall of separation in Australia like Graham's Dike, or Valsever.

The following was probably something like the amount and distribution of the population of the Roman colony of Britain at the era of its independence in the year 409.

Thirty-three Municipal Cities or Boroughs, viz. :—

London, the Capital of the Colony.....	10,000
Four other Cities at 7000 each .....	= 28,000
Ten Ditto at 5000 each .....	= 50,000
Eighteen Ditto at 4000 each .....	= 72,000

*Smaller Towns and Villages.*

Twenty at 2000 each .....	= 40,000
Twenty at 1500 each .....	= 30,000
Eighteen at 1000 each .....	= 18,000

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Total Town population..... 248,000

Rural population .....

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252,000

Total population of the Roman Colony of Britain

A. D. 409 .....

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= 500,000

every thing? Nothing, I answer, but that unhallowed lust of empire that has been the fruitful source of "woes unnumbered" to Great Britain already—nothing but that vain pursuit, on the part of a deluded people, of an empty shadow, for which the invaluable substance is sacrificed and lost. Let Her Majesty be only advised to follow the good example of the Emperor Honorius, and no part of the present Colonial Empire will ever be half so valuable in its actual condition, even to Great Britain, as free and independent Australia.

#### SECTION XIII.—THE RESULT OF THE COMPARISON STATED.

If the comparison I have thus instituted between ancient and modern, Grecian and British colonization is both fair and just—and I challenge all and sundry to prove that it is not—it follows that much, if not the whole, of what we are in the daily habit of hearing from all quarters, as to the benefits and blessings of "belonging to the British Empire," in the sense of being mere dependencies of that empire, and of being governed as such, is either the sheerest cant or the grossest delusion. Nay, it is a mere artifice of the devil, to extend and perpetuate human misery, by setting men's minds and hearts against the adoption of those beautiful and perfect arrangements, which the All-wise and beneficent Creator has established, for the welfare and advancement of society in this lower world.

So far, indeed, from the British government of the colonies, properly so called, having ever been either a benefit or a blessing to these colonies, it has uniformly, and without one solitary exception, been the bane and the curse of the colonies, from the time when the first of them was planted, under that Solomon of his age, King James the First, to the present hour. And if it

has been "destructive" to the best interests of the colonies, as Heeren testifies it has, it has been infinitely worse for the Mother-country herself. With a virgin soil and a propitious sky, with a luxurious climate and a country of boundless resources, we colonists can struggle on, even under the worst government, and prosper notwithstanding. But—to take a single instance of the genuine *domestic* effects of this lust of empire on the part of Great Britain, this grasping at the shadow and losing the substance, this virtual stoppage of the healthful perennial stream of emigration that would otherwise have flowed from an overcrowded country for two centuries and-a-half,—what can you do, in your present circumstances, ye poor needle-women of England? Instead of pining in the hopeless wretchedness of your cheerless lot, ye might, every one of you, had Great Britain only discharged her proper duty to herself, and to you, in the matter of colonization, have been the happy mothers of hopeful children in the colonies; and your sons and your daughters would have been extending our noble language, our equitable laws, our free institutions, and our Protestant religion over every continent and every isle.

Mr. Wakefield doubtless speaks of "a peculiarity of colonies, as distinguished from *dependencies* in general, which furnishes a reason," as he conceives, "for wishing that they should belong to the empire. I mean," he continues, "the attachment of colonies to their Mother-country. Without having lived in a colony—or, at any rate, without having a really intimate acquaintance with colonies, which only a very few people in the Mother-country have, or can have—it is difficult to conceive the intensity of colonial loyalty to the empire. In the colonies of England, at any rate, the feeling of love towards England and of pride in belonging to her

empire, is more than a sentiment; it is a sort of passion which all the colonists feel, except Milesian Irish emigrants. I have often been unable to help smiling at the exhibition of it. In what it originates I cannot say: perhaps in a sympathy of blood or race, for the present Anglo-Americans feel in their heart's core the same kind of love and respect for England that we Englishmen at home feel for the memory of Alfred or Elizabeth: but, whatever may be its cause I have no doubt that love of England is the ruling sentiment of English Colonies."\*

Now, with all his acuteness, Mr. Wakefield has here confounded two things that are essentially distinct from each other, viz., "the love of England," and "the love of her empire," or government, in the sense of a strong desire to be, or to continue, under it. The love of England—meaning the love of the country, of its people, of its institutions, and of its prosperity—is a generous and manly feeling, which, I am most happy to admit with Mr. Wakefield, is the characteristic of *all British colonies*: and so far from there being anything either strange or unaccountable in it, as Mr. W. seems to imagine, it is the most natural thing in the world. For, according to the Scotch proverb, "Blood is thicker than water;" or, in other words, "we shall always be more kindly-affectioned towards our *own* kindred, our *own* country, our *own* race, than towards mere strangers or foreigners," *provided always that no disturbing element shall have intervened*, as in the case of the War of Independence in America; which I am sorry to say has generated very extensively somewhat different feelings in that country from those which Mr. Wakefield considers universal. But Mr. Wakefield is decidedly in the wrong in taking it for granted, as he does, that this

\* *Art of Colonization, &c.*, p. 101.

love of England, which is both natural and universal in British colonies, necessarily implies a desire to live under her *government*, as mere dependencies of her empire. I deny that it does. I deny that the two things have the slightest connection with each other: and it is throwing dust in the eyes of the people of England, and rendering them stone-blind both to their interest and their duty, to persuade them that they have; or that the equally generous and manly desire of freedom and independence, on the part of British colonists in certain circumstances, implies anything like a hatred of England, or of her people, of her institutions; or of her prosperity. Away with such folly—such madness!

In a passage I have quoted above, the Great Hugo Grotius, one of the ablest and best interpreters of the law of nature and nations that has ever lived, lays it down as a universal and unquestionable maxim, that in such circumstances as those of the British colonies of North America and Australia, respectively, *novus populus sui juris nascitur*, “a new and independent nation is born.” And Heeren, no mean authority in politics either, confirms this maxim, by stating, in a passage I have already quoted above, that “the desire of independence is natural to agricultural colonies, because a *new nation gradually becomes formed within them.*” And this natural, and therefore divinely implanted, desire, with the new and multiform attachments from which it flows, constitutes one of the strongest principles—one of the strongest passions—of human nature. In short, the love of England, and the desire of national independence, on the part of British colonists in the circumstances I have indicated, are in perfect harmony with each other, like all the other works of God; which both of these generous and manly feelings undoubtedly

are. It is highly presumptuous, therefore, to say the least of it, for mortal man to imagine that *his puny* arrangements for the welfare and advancement of society in this lower world, should be preferable to those of the Supreme Creator, and Lord of all—that *his* notorious device of Downing Street, for instance, should be a better device for the government of such countries as British America and Australia, than the one indicated in the law of Nature and the ordinance of God; which proclaims with a voice from heaven, that these countries should be free and independent, as they will certainly both be very soon, in spite of all the efforts of Downing Street to the contrary.

There has doubtless been a disturbing element at work in the case of British America, which has deranged in some degree the natural tendencies of things in that country—I mean the late American war, and the feelings of bitter hostility which it unhappily engendered on both sides of the boundary line; for such feelings are the regular stock-in-trade of your “British empire men,” and your “zealots for British connection,” as opposed to the advocates of national independence. Then there are the antipathies of race, *within* the boundary line, aggravated and enhanced as they must have been by the Canadian Insurrection of 1838. But we are happily free from all such disturbing elements in Australia. There are no hostile races *here*, as in Canada; there are no unreasonable antipathies towards America, to make us profess what we do not feel; and least of all, is there any temptation in the Australian colonies to the folly of *annexation*, in the Canadian sense of the phrase. We love England as warmly as Mr. Wakefield can wish us to do, and from our inmost hearts we will ever *pray for her prosperity*; but we cherish at the same time that generous and manly desire



of national independence, which God and nature have implanted in our breasts.

Mr. Wakefield has also fallen into a serious mistake in considering "the attachment of colonies to their Mother-country a peculiarity of colonies, as distinguished from dependencies in general, which furnishes a reason for wishing that they should belong to the Empire." On the contrary, it furnishes no such reason whatever, but the very reverse. The British subject who goes to any of the other dependencies Mr. Wakefield speaks of—to the East or West Indies, for example; to Ceylon; to the Mauritius; to Hongkong, Singapore or Labuan; to Aden, St. Helena, the Bermudas, Gibraltar, Malta, or Heligoland—uniformly carries his *patria*, or country, along with him, *in imagination*, and returns to it *in reality*, as soon as he can; never for one moment seeking for another *patria* or country in any of these dependencies. But the British colonist, properly so called, leaves his *patria*, or native country, for ever, and seeks for another *patria*, or adopted country, in the land of his emigration.\* It must be obvious, therefore, that Mr. Wakefield's wish that those colonies, in which hundreds of thousands of his fellow-countrymen have actually found the *patria*, or country, they were in search of, when they left their native land, "should belong to the empire," rather than the other dependencies in which there can be no such *patria* either sought for or found, is, to say the least of it, somewhat unreasonable.

\* This is the remarkably appropriate language in which emigration and colonization are uniformly described by the ancients:—"Nos PATRIAM fugimus—PATRIAM quærentes."—Virg. "*Causa BELINQUENDI QUÆRENDIQUE PATRIAM.*"—Seneca, as quoted above.

## CHAP. III.

## THE FUTURE AUSTRALIAN EMPIRE.

## SECTION I.—THE PRESENT CRISIS AND THE CONSUMMATION TO WHICH IT POINTS.

The discovery of gold in Australia—if it has not already wrought—is at least destined to work out a prodigious change in the relations that have hitherto subsisted between Great Britain and her Australian colonies. This wonderful discovery has virtually taken the settlement, or peopling, of Australia out of the hands of the Imperial Government; for it were absurd to ascribe the present Australian emigration to the British Government. In short, with facilities for colonization superior to those of any other country on earth,—with millions of acres of the finest land, in the finest climates, lying open for settlement in Australia alone, while millions of pounds of animal food were annually destroyed in that country, simply for want of consumers, for the sake of the tallow,—the British Government had never made a single effort, at all worthy of the name, for the settlement of these vast solitudes; although myriads of the inhabitants of the British Isles—industrious and virtuous families and individuals—were generally in a condition bordering on starvation! By this discovery, however, Divine Providence has virtually declared that these lands shall no longer be suffered to lie waste—that Australia shall be inhabited—and has accordingly taken the work of Australian colonization into its own hands. It may be difficult, indeed, to ascertain beforehand of what materials, and in what relative proportions,

the future population of Australia will be constituted ; but that a vast population, numbering hundreds of thousands, and probably millions, and comprising numerous respectable families and individuals of all grades, occupations, and professions, with innumerable adventurers of all descriptions, will ere long be congregated in this country, there cannot now be the shadow of a doubt. *The gold discovery has thrown the colony of New South Wales fifty years in advance of its previous position ; or, in the words of one of our pseudo-patriots, it is precipitating the colony into a nation.*

In one word, in spite of every effort to the contrary, Australia will very soon be free and independent ; and Great Britain must therefore make up her mind to the issue with the best possible grace.\* But while this will undoubtedly be the result in any circumstances, there are causes at present in operation which, if not counteracted in time, will precipitate the issue, and deprive the Mother-country, for all time coming, of the most valuable national advantages which might otherwise be secured from her present possessions with the utmost facility.

In the first place, there is an utter want of confidence in the present Local Government, on the part of a large proportion of the intelligence and moral worth of the colony, and a thorough contempt for it among the energetic and industrious classes of the community. The persuasion that it consists of men who care nothing for the people, provided they can abstract the largest pos.

\* "A country which is being peopled at the rate of five thousand a week by men nursed in freedom will soon be able to demand as a right that which she now entreats as a favour."—*Times*, July 30, 1852.

The *Times* has greatly over-rated the amount of emigration to Australia, but it has not mistaken either the tendency or the probable result of that emigration.

sible amount of their funds for their own purposes—for the maintenance of their own system, and the pensioning of their own friends and adherents—is all but universal.

This feeling is not a little strengthened and enhanced by the American experience which a considerable portion of the mining population of the colony have recently obtained. On the announcement of the discovery of the Gold Mines of California in the Australian colonies, there was quite a rush of adventurers from these colonies—many of them carrying with them their wives and families—to the American mines; for people who have once fairly left their Mother-country, and made a long sea-voyage to any remote settlement, are much more easily incited to repeat the experiment, and try some other and better place, than if they had never left their native land. But as soon as the news of the discovery of a gold field in Australia reached California, the tide turned immediately, and the emigrants found their way back again, along with not a few natives even of the United States, in whole ship-loads to Australia. Now a large proportion of these returned emigrants have not only been acquiring valuable experience in gold-mining in California, but have also been observing the working of free institutions among a people of kindred origin in that country; and it is not to be wondered at if in such circumstances the feeling of dissatisfaction with the present political state of the Australian colonies should have become both general and intense in whole masses of the community.\*

\* Nor must we omit, in considering the circumstances of modern colonies, the effects of example: the effects of the great and rapid supremacy to which one republic has raised itself, on the spirit and character of all the infant republics of the world. Merivale, vol. ii. p. 277.

Besides, the Gold Regulations of the Local Government constitute a positive grievance of rather a serious character. Every miner must take out a license to mine, for which he pays so much a month.\* To any person who is at all successful, this is but a very light tax: but gold-mining is everywhere a lottery, in which, although there are splendid prizes, there are also many blanks; and to the man who has drawn a blank, for months perhaps in succession, as is the case with some, the payment of a monthly tax besides is a serious grievance. The aggravating part of the affair, to any person who has the slightest regard for the welfare and advancement of the country, is that only a comparatively small portion of the large revenue which is raised from this license-fee finds its way into the public treasury, so as to be available for the general improvement of the country. A large portion of it is absorbed in the payment of the salaries and appointments of a whole host of Gold Commissioners and Assistant Gold Commissioners, and their clerks and attendants, who have in the mean time been palmed upon the colony to an extent perfectly astounding.† Certain of these trumpery officials, moreover, are mere boys, just from school; the relatives and friends of course of those who can assist in any way in keeping up *the system*.

For my own part, I am strongly opposed to the license fee and these Gold Commissionerships altogether: I would have a mere nominal fee, not exceeding five shillings a month, to enable the authorities to mark out the

\* The fee was originally thirty shillings a month; it has now been reduced to ten. It was lowered after the people had left the mines, and they have never returned!

† La multiplicité effrénée des offices est la marque assurée de la décadence prochaine d'un état.—*Sully*. The unrestrained multiplication of offices is the sure sign of the approaching fall of a State.

proper limits of each miner's claim, and to maintain a small police force; but I would subject the whole of the crude metal raised from the mines to a small per-centage for the State. This was the system to which the Spanish Government was obliged to come at last, after many experiments and many failures, in the management of its South American mines.

“The search after precious metals,” observes Professor Heeren, “was left to individual enterprise, with the reservation of a tenth to the Crown. \* \* \* The proportion paid to the king [of Spain] it was found necessary to diminish by degrees from twenty to five per cent.; notwithstanding this, in the richest regions of the earth, mining was so hazardous a game that by far the greater number of speculations ended in ruin.”\*

The attempt to realize a large per-centage for Government from the produce of mines has uniformly proved a failure, and it is surely not the policy of any Government to lead its subjects into the strong temptation which a large per-centage on the results of mining implies.

In regard to the probability of ensuring this per-centage for the State, gold is so precious a metal, and people exporting it are so anxious to ensure its safety, that there would be no difficulty whatever in subjecting it to a moderate duty; under a legislative enactment, making the requisite provisions on the subject, and subjecting to seizure all gold attempted to be exported without payment of duty. The miners would thus be treated fairly, and the State would derive a comparatively large revenue, available for all public purposes, from the mines. But a Government like that of New South Wales or Port Phillip has no idea of treating men fairly, and appealing to their sense of justice;

\* *Europe and its Colonies, &c.*, p. 57.

which, in such circumstances, is the only effectual specific for ensuring the public peace. *Their* only principle of governing men is *force*; *their* only instrument of government is the bayonet: and, accordingly, one of the first acts of the Local Governments of New South Wales and Victoria, after the discovery of the Gold Mines, was to apply for a large military force from England, the universal specific of incapacity and dishonesty, for the Australian mines.

For my own part, I consider a military force totally unnecessary at the mines, and far likelier to create than to repress dissatisfaction and disaffection among the mining population.\* The idea of occupying the vast extent of the Australian mines with a military force, or, in other words, establishing a military cordon of a thousand miles in extent, is in the highest degree preposterous and absurd; and, dispersed as that force would necessarily be, its presence would only add fuel to the existing, although smothered, flame, and lead to some collision or outbreak, of which the consequences cannot be foreseen. It is not *troops*, but *justice*, that is required for the mining districts—*a fair field and no favour*.

Besides, the temptation of a gold field is one to which British soldiers have never yet been exposed; and if that temptation has proved strong enough to turn the heads of the wisest men in these colonies, there is no

\* I had likewise, in those days, a mortal antipathy to standing armies in time of peace; because I always took standing armies to be only *servants, hired by the master of the family for keeping his own children in slavery*; and because I conceived that a prince who could not think himself secure without mercenary troops, must needs have a separate interest from that of his subjects; although I am not ignorant of those artificial necessities which a corrupted ministry can create for keeping up forces to support a faction against the public interest.—Dean Swift, *Letters to Pope*, 1720.

calculating its effects on *theirs*. At all events, they would soon discover that there is no better instrument for picking out gold nuggets from the crevices of the Australian rocks than a Birmingham bayonet: and to what issues such a discovery might lead, under the requisite tuition, I leave the reader to conjecture.

I hold it, therefore, to be absolutely certain,

1st. That the large population that will be found congregated in Australia, within a few years hence, will on no account tolerate the present unjust and oppressive, irrational and nefarious system of government in that country:

2nd. That the idea of controuling the mining population, and maintaining things as they are, either in town or country, by a military force, is out of the question: and

3rd. That unless immediate preparation is made for effecting a thorough and entire change of system, that change will be effected by other means and instruments; when the power to regulate and controul the movement, and to give it the right direction for all parties concerned, and for all time coming, will have been lost for ever.

“The generality of revolutions,” observes a British officer, after a tour of some years among the recently formed states of South America, “have been effected by two or three thousand badly armed men.”\* There will very soon be a hundred times that number at the Australian gold mines; and if the grievances of the miners, at those in the province of Victoria, have already led to a serious collision with the Local Government, there is but little reason to believe that the public peace will be permanently maintained, with nothing but illegiti-

\* *Wanderings in some of the Western Republics of America.*  
By George Byam, late 43rd Light Infantry.



mate power on the one hand and a keen sense of injustice and oppression on the other.

In the anomalous state of things that has arisen in these colonies, men must recur to first principles, and be prepared to review the relations that subsist between the rulers and the ruled, the constituted authorities and the people. "Tame submission to usurped power," says the celebrated Robert Hall, "has hitherto been the malady of human nature." There is reason to believe, however, that this malady will not continue to afflict human nature long in these Australian colonies.

What then are the principles that are laid down for the guidance of mankind, in such circumstances as those of the inhabitants of these Australian colonies, by the great and the good among our fellow men? Why, the following are some of them:—

"Government," says Kirwan, an able American writer, "is for the benefit of the people; and when rulers pervert the government for their own purposes, and oppress the people, then the remedy is with the people—peaceably, if they can; by revolution, if necessary. A government perverted by cunning from its great ends is no longer binding upon its subjects."

"So far," says another distinguished American, "So far is an existing government from being clothed with an inviolable sanctity, that the citizens, in particular circumstances, acquires the right, not only of remonstrating, but of employing force for its destruction. This right accrues to him, when a government wantonly disregards the ends of social union; when it threatens the subversion of national liberty and happiness; and when no relief but force remains to the suffering community."\*

But these are not merely the opinions of foreigners:

\* Dr. Channing.

they are those of some of the greatest men that have ever lived in our own country. Witness the following deliberately expressed opinions of the celebrated Dean of St. Patrick's, and of the equally distinguished author of the *Essay on the Human Understanding*.

"As to what is called a Revolution principle," says the old Tory, Dean Swift, "my opinion was this; that whenever those evils which usually attend and follow a violent change of government, were not in probability so pernicious as the grievance we suffer under a present power, then the public good will justify such a revolution. And this I took to be the case in the Prince of Orange's expedition."\*

"Although, in a constituted commonwealth," observes the philosopher, John Locke, in his *Essay on Government*, "standing upon its own basis, and acting according to its own nature, that is, acting for the preservation of the community, there can be but one supreme power, which is the legislature, to which all the rest are and must be subordinate; yet the legislature being only a fiduciary power, to act for certain ends, *there remains still, in the people, a supreme power to remove or alter the legislature, when they find the legislature act contrary to the trust reposed in them.* For all power given, with trust for the attaining an end, whenever that end is manifestly neglected or opposed, the trust must necessarily be forfeited, and the power devolve into the hands of those who gave it, who may place it anew where they shall think best for their safety and security."†

And what is the case before us, as exhibited in the existing Constitution of New South Wales? Why, it is that of a body delegated by Act of Parliament to

\* Dean Swift's *Letters to Pope*. Dublin, January 10, 1721.

† *Locke on Government*, book ii.

distribute and apportion the representation of this colony among its actual inhabitants, agreeably to the principles of the British Constitution, that is in proportion to its population and property; but who, in utter defiance of that Constitution, have allotted only six members to upwards of three-eighths of the population and property of the whole colony, and thirty members to less than five-eighths!

"A conspiracy," says the distinguished American moralist, Dr. Channing, "a conspiracy against the rights of the human race, is as foul a crime as rebellion against the rights of sovereigns; nor is there less of treason in warring against public freedom, than in assailing royal power."\*

And how are men to treat such conspiracies and conspirators? Why, in precisely the same way in which they have had to be treated in all past ages. "If the feudal aristocracy," says M. Guizot, the able but unfortunate minister of the late Louis Philippe, King of the French, "If the feudal aristocracy took part in the development of nations, it was by struggling against royal tyranny, *by exercising the rights of resistance*, and by maintaining the maxims of liberty."†

"You say," observes that great man, Oliver Cromwell, in his letter to Colonel Hammond, then Governor of the Isle of Wight, "You say, God hath appointed authorities among the nations, to which obedience is to be yielded. This resides in the Parliament, &c. But I do not therefore think the authorities may do *anything*, and yet such obedience be due. All agree that *there are cases in which it is lawful to resist.*"

"The right of insurrection," says another writer, better known in Sydney, "is one of those elementary

\* *Essay on the Life and Character of Napoleon Buonaparte.*

† Guizot, *Hist. de la Revol. d'Angleterre.*

and scorching questions that no political casuistry can settle. They stir the great deeps of the human heart, and ride upon the whirlwind of the passions. They preceded all law and will survive it; for that is the artificial compact of society, and they are its ultimate principles.”\*

“I rejoice,” exclaimed Lord Chatham, “that the Americans have resisted. Three million subjects of the British Empire, so dead to any generous impulse as to submit their necks to such a yoke, would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest.” But let it be remembered—the Americans never had grounds of resistance to be compared for one moment with those of the present colonists of Australia.

Besides, it would be exceedingly unwise to speculate too much on that invincible attachment of British colonists to the British Crown and empire, of which Mr. Wakefield speaks so hopefully. As the poet Burns sings,—

“God save the king’s a cuckoo sang,  
That’s unco-easy said, aye:”

and when a Government has many hundred thousands a-year to appropriate for the maintenance of “things as they are,” lip-loyalty is very easily purchased. British government has hitherto been so wretchedly administered in all the Australian colonies, that if a revolutionary movement in any one of them were successful in its outset, it would very soon communicate itself to the whole of them; and nineteen out of every twenty of the colonists, with the exception of those only whose sole dependence is on the continuance of the present order of things, would see that government fall without an effort to prevent it, and without a sigh.

\* An Englishman, (Mr. Lowe,) in the *Morning Advertiser*, on the *Italian Refugees*. March 24, 1853.

## SECTION II.—THE DUTY OF GREAT BRITAIN IN THIS CRISIS.

If Great Britain were in reality the *Mother*, and not the mere *Step-mother* of the Colonies, as she has hitherto been, she would at once recognize and discharge her bounden duty towards the Australian Colonies, in the very peculiar circumstances in which they are now placed, by conceding their entire political freedom and national independence, on conditions that would prove of mutual and of incalculable benefit to both countries. For although I maintain that British colonies, in the state of advancement to which those of Australia have attained, are entitled to their freedom and independence, whatever may be the result of the supposed change in their condition to the Mother-country, I confess I should scarcely have ventured to advocate such a measure as the concession of freedom and independence to these colonies, if I were not able to prove, as I have already done, and shall yet do in the sequel, to the satisfaction of every reasonable person, that it would prove of incalculable advantage to the Mother-country herself, as well as to the colonies. The interests of the Mother-country and of the colonies are perfectly identical, as respects this measure; which would ensure unspeakable benefits to both, although in different and directly opposite ways.

“If a dominant country,” observes Mr. Cornwall Lewis, with equal truth and honesty, “understood the true nature and advantages arising from the relation of supremacy and dependence to the related communities, it would voluntarily recognise the legal independence of such of its own dependencies as were fit for independence; it would, by its political arrangements, study to prepare for independence those which were still unable to stand

alone; and it would seek to promote colonization for the purpose of extending its trade rather than its empire, and without attempting to maintain the dependence of its colonies beyond the time when they need its protection.”\*

To the same effect Mr. Roebuck observes, as follows; although he could scarcely have anticipated the event that will enable Australia so speedily to realise his prediction, and to take her place in the great family of nations:—

“The colonies, which we are founding in America, Australasia, and Africa, will, probably, at some future day, be powerful nations, who will also be unwilling to remain in subjection to any rule but their own. But this withdrawal from our metropolitan rule ought not to offend or wound us as a nation; we should feel in this case as a parent feels when a child has reached unto manhood—becomes his own master, forms his own separate household, and becomes, in his turn, the master of a family. The ties of affection remain—the separation is not the cause or the effect of hostility. Thus should it be with a Mother-country and her colonies. Having founded them, and brought them to a sturdy maturity, she should be proud to see them honestly glorying in their strength, and wishing for independence. Having looked forward to this time as sure to come, she should prepare for it. She should make such arrangements in her system as to put all things in order for this coming change in the colony’s condition, so that independence may be acquired and friendship retained. The colony would, in such a case, continue to feel towards the Mother-country with kindness and respect; a close union would exist between them, and all their

\* *Essay on the Government of Dependencies.* By George Cornwall Lewis, Esq., 334. London, 1841.

mutual relations would be so ordered as to conduce to the welfare of both.”\*

That Great Britain would be no loser by such an arrangement—regarding it in the very lowest point of view, as a mere matter of profit or loss—is the opinion of the highest authorities both British and foreign.

“Under the present system of management,” observes the celebrated Dr. Adam Smith, “Great Britain derives nothing but loss from the dominion she assumes over her colonies.”†

“It is the trade of the colonies,” observed the citizens of Boston nearly a century ago, “that renders them beneficial to the Mother-country: *our trade, as it is now, and always has been conducted, centres in Great Britain.*”‡

“Let the trade to North America be what it may,” observes the truly patriotic Dean Tucker, to whom I shall have occasion to refer more particularly hereafter, “of little importance, or otherwise; it is a mere begging the question, and a most disingenuous artifice to insinuate that this trade will be lost, if a separation from the colonies should ensue. On the contrary, it is more probable that, when all parties shall be left at full liberty to do as they please, our North American trade will rather be increased, than diminished by such a measure. Because *it is freedom, and not confinement, or monopoly, which increases trade.*”§

As to the matter of right, on the part of the colonists,

\* *The Colonies of England.* By John Arthur Roebuck, Esq., M.P., p. 170.

† *Wealth of Nations*, c. vii.

‡ *Instructions to the Representatives of the City of Boston, in the Legislature of Massachusetts*, May, 1764.

§ Dean Tucker's *Humble Address, recommending Separation from America*, p. 61. Gloucester, 1775.

I have already discussed this point sufficiently in the first chapter of this work; and I shall only add to the testimonies there adduced one more from the voice of antiquity.

“King Tullius (in Dion. Hali.) says, we look upon it to be neither truth nor justice, *that Mother-cities ought of necessity and by the law of nature to rule over their colonies.*”\*

I am therefore decidedly of opinion that it is alike the interest and the duty of Great Britain, in accordance with the recommendations of these eminent writers, to initiate at once the series of measures that are needful to ensure the entire freedom and independence of the Australian colonies. But in whatever manner this opinion may be regarded, and this advice received, it is doubtless a very remarkable fact in British history, that precisely the same opinion was entertained, and precisely similar advice unsuccessfully tendered, in the case of America, by a dignified clergyman of the Church of England, eighty years ago.

“Only one Englishman at this crisis,” (anno 1771) observes the historian of America, “had the sagacity to perceive that the views and pretensions of Britain and America were quite incompatible, and that, in the warmth of the controversy, these conflicting views had been so far disclosed and matured, that a cordial reconciliation was no longer possible. This was Dr. Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, one of the most learned and ingenious writers on commerce and political economy that England has ever produced. With a boldness equal to the comprehension of his views, he openly recommended, in several tracts which he published about this time, an entire separation of the two countries, and a formal recognition of the independence of

\* Grotius, *de Jure Belli, &c.*, b. 2. c. 9. sec. 10.



the American States. The doctrine which he inculcated was, that *when colonies have reached such a degree of wealth and population as to be able to support themselves, the authority of the parent State whence they emanated, must necessarily be trivial and precarious; and that, consequently, in all cases of this kind, it is the dictate of prudence and sound policy that the parties, instead of waiting to be separated by emergent quarrel and strife, should dissolve their connexion by mutual consent.* Such, he contended, was now the situation of the British colonies in America; and in urging upon Britain the consequent policy of releasing them from further controul, he maintained with much force and good sense that this measure would be attended with a great alleviation of the national expense, without any real diminution of the national gain. For this unpalatable counsel the doctor was regarded as a wild visionary, both by those of his countrymen who supported, and by those who opposed the measures of their government. But time illustrated his views and honoured his wisdom.”\*

The celebrated Edmund Burke, and the distinguished ethical writer, Soame Jenyns, both threw all the influence of their names and their fame at this period into the scale of war with America—the former characterising the truly politic and patriotic scheme of Dean Tucker as puerile and childish; and the latter showing up the Americans in a poem, after expatiating for a while over the wide fields of freedom, *voluntarily throwing themselves back once more into the arms of Britain!* It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that this

\* *History of the United States of North America, from the Plantation of the British Colonies till their Revolt and Declaration of Independence.* By James Grahame, Esq., 1836, vol. iv. p. 307.

poetical fancy was but indifferently realised. These distinguished men proved "blind leaders of the blind," and the nation, under their guidance, "fell into the ditch." Dean Tucker's was the true wisdom, because it was in accordance with the law of nature and the ordinance of God; and it is sincerely to be hoped, although, I confess, but little to be expected, that those whom it concerns may profit by the lesson of wisdom which it teaches, ere it be *too late for the second time*. The American historian adds in a note, "Watkins, in his life of the Duke of York, relates, that after the independence of America had been irrevocably conceded by the Treaty of Paris, George the Third, meeting Tucker at Gloucester, observed to him, 'Mr. Dean, you were in the right, and we were all in the wrong.' "\*.

In the present anomalous circumstances and condition of the Australian colonies, it is utterly impossible for their government to be either properly or satisfactorily administered, either by the authorities at home or by their agents *here*, the Governors and other principal functionaries throughout the colonies: and it is an outrage upon the common sense of mankind to allege that the previous knowledge, tact and experience indispensably requisite for the proper discharge of such functions, can ever be acquired at the head of a marching regiment, whether in Europe or elsewhere, or on the quarter-deck of a man-of-war. It has hitherto, indeed, been the practice of the Home Government to depend for their information respecting the colonies on the reports of such colonial officials; but, let it be remembered by all whom it concerns, that "the dissensions between the two countries, which afterwards terminated in the dissolution of the British empire in America, were not a little promoted by the pernicious counsels and *erro-*

\* Grahame, vol. iv. p. 308.

*neous information* transmitted to the English ministry by the governors of those provinces in which the appointment to that office was exercised by the King.”\*

But I am not singular in holding the opinions I advocate, as to the inherent and indefeasible right of any community, such as a British colony, able and willing to sustain and protect itself, to declare its entire freedom and independence, irrespective of the opinions of parties, whether in office or not, in the Mother-country, altogether. The Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, President of the College of Princeton, New Jersey, in America, had only been six years out of Scotland, where he had previously been one of the most eminent parochial ministers in that country, when he was elected a member of the first National Congress of the United States, and signed the famous declaration of independence at Philadelphia, in the year 1776.† The sentiments of

\* Grahame, vol. i. p. 389.

† I was told by persons of the highest intelligence in America, when in that country in the year 1840, that, next to Washington, there was no man to whom the Americans considered themselves more deeply indebted for the achievement of their national freedom and independence, than Dr. Witherspoon. His high character and eminent talents had given effectual support to the cause of freedom, which he had embraced at an early period in their great national struggle; and during the subsequent progress of that struggle, when things were at the gloomiest, and not a few even of his coadjutors were ready to give up the contest as utterly hopeless, Dr. Witherspoon repeatedly reanimated their drooping spirits, and encouraged them to those renewed efforts which were ultimately crowned with success. But no sooner were the liberties of his country effectually secured, than, without looking for either office or emolument for himself, he returned, like an old Roman, to his quiet college, and even volunteered a pilgrimage to Scotland, where his name and character had always stood very high, to engage ministers, and candidates for the ministry, for those parts of his adopted country which had been left desolate by the war, and to collect funds for their settlement.

Dr. Witherspoon, and also of the celebrated John Wesley, on the relations of Mother-countries and their full-grown colonies, will appear from the following extract from the able and excellent historian of America:—

“It was the opinion of Dr. Witherspoon and many other persons of sincere and profound piety in America, that when collisions arise between different authorities in the same empire, every man possesses the right of choosing which side he shall support, bounded by the duty of consulting the interests of religion and liberty, and of respecting the opinions and wishes of the majority of the community. The scriptural precepts referred to by the Quakers and other advocates of submission, they thought were intended (in so far as their application

It is somewhat remarkable that one of my own earliest recollections should have been connected with the memory of this great and good man, and especially with that event of his life to which I have just alluded. My mother, who was born in the year 1770, used to tell me, when a little boy, that the first Charity Sermon she had ever heard was one preached in the open air at Beith, in Ayrshire, Scotland, where she was then on a visit to a relative, by the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, *from America*. She was fourteen years of age at the time, which must consequently have been in the year 1784, the year after the Peace. Dr. Witherspoon had been the parish minister of Beith many years before; and the concourse of people from the surrounding country was so great on the occasion, that the parish church could not hold them, and the service had to be held in an adjoining field, where Dr. W. preached from a moveable pulpit, or as it is technically called, in the west of Scotland, *a tent*. My mother used to describe to me his venerable appearance and snow-white locks, and the peculiarly impressive character of his oratory, the whole scene having evidently made a deep and indelible impression upon her mind. I was afterwards at school for a short time in Beith, and the schoolmaster, in whose house I resided, had the same feeling of veneration for the memory of Dr. Witherspoon. These apparently trivial circumstances naturally led me at an after period to enquire into the public career of Dr. Witherspoon, and may perhaps have had some influence in shaping out my own.

might be supposed universal), to inculcate the duty without defining the limits of obedience to civil authority, and to recommend a peaceable, moderate, and contented disposition, and averseness to wanton and unnecessary change. John Wesley was at first opposed, upon religious principles, to American resistance, and in letters to the Methodists in America, endeavoured, without effect, to dissuade them from embracing the cause of their country. But *he very soon changed his opinion, and even encouraged the Americans to revolt, by expressions of his good wishes and approbation.*"\*

Perhaps there is nothing that more strongly indicates the heartlessness of Great Britain, as a Mother-country, towards her colonies generally—her indifference as to their real welfare and advancement, and her exclusive regard for her own aggrandisement, her own imaginary honour and glory—than her virtually dragging these Australian colonies along with her into her present European war. After tamely permitting the chivalrous people of Hungary to be trodden to the dust a few years ago by the Russian Cossacks—after allowing the brave Lombards and Venetians to be virtually annihilated as a people by the Austrian Radetzky, and the patriotic but unfortunate king of Sardinia to die of a broken heart in the unequal struggle for the emancipation of Italy—after handing over the Sicilians to the tender mercies of the worst government in Europe—and after permitting the glorious but short-lived Republic of Modern Rome to be extinguished by a French intervention as unprincipled as that of the Russian invasion of Turkey—after all this, Great Britain is suddenly seized with a fit of sympathy, and has armed herself to the teeth

\* *Grahame's Hist. of the United States*, vol. iv. p. 315. Also, *Southey's Life of Wesley*.

to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, that model-government of Europe for the last four hundred years! Now, taking it for granted that all that has been said about the propriety and necessity of the war with Russia is true and well-founded—and I have no wish to dispute the point; taking it for granted that the war between Great Britain and that formidable and unprincipled Power is as just and necessary as any war that our Mother-country has waged for a century past—as I really believe it is; what, in the name of Common Sense, have we, the British Colonists of Australia, to do with it in any way whatever? What possible interest can we have, as dwellers in these uttermost parts of the earth, either in a struggle between Russia and Turkey on the one hand, or in the maintenance of the so-called balance of power in Europe on the other? Why should the three greatest oceans on the earth—two of which must, in ordinary voyages, be traversed ere we can reach Europe—be rendered dangerous for our commerce from the presence of hostile ships of war, and be transformed into a battle-field for our marine, because Great Britain has been unable to come to a proper understanding with Russia on the affairs of Turkey? Why should the funds that ought to be expended on the improvement of our adopted country and the rapid development of its vast resources, be diverted from these legitimate objects, and expended in providing munitions of war? Why should our people be subjected to unnecessary alarms about foreign invasion? Why should they be called away from their farms and their grazing stations, their workshops, their warehouses and stores, to be transformed into an armed soldiery and marched to some field of slaughter, simply because we are colonies of Britain; whereas, if we only stood by ourselves, and were free and independent, we could hold forth the

right hand of fellowship and friendship to the whole human race, and have no enemy to fear on the whole face of the earth? Truly, we do pay a great deal too dear for the whistle of our British connexion.\*

If, in such circumstances, Great Britain were really the right generous and noble nation she pretends to be, but has never yet been to her colonies, she would address these Australian colonies in some such language as the following:—"I am now entering on a great war, with one of the most formidable powers upon earth—a war of which it is impossible to foresee either the issue or the termination. I am doing so from a sense of what is due to the national honour, of what is deemed absolutely necessary for the resistance of unprincipled aggression, and the maintenance of the freedom and independence of Europe. But isolated, as you Australian colonists are, from the rest of the civilized world, and arrived, as I am happy to find you are, at a vigorous manhood, I have no wish to involve you in the inconvenience, the hardships, or the perils of this European struggle—I have no wish to render the intervening oceans dangerous to your commerce, or to expose your remote and now peaceful shores to hostile aggression. Be free then, from henceforth, and independent—under a Constitution which I shall give you, and which will greatly promote your internal union, while it will accelerate your social and political advancement, and consolidate your future

\* Extract of a letter to the *London Spectator*, of date 26th January, 1854:—"Nature has done everything to render the Australian harbours defensible, but no advantage has been taken of this circumstance; and as the colonists have no guns, they cannot suddenly profit by their unfortunate position. *Detached from England, they would run no risk; how can we expect them to sacrifice their interests, nay, their existence, to their loyalty? Colonies, not protected, must protect themselves, by a declaration of independence.*"—Very good!

power as one of the Sovereign States of Christendom. And may those generous and manly affections that now bind you to your Mother-country, your Father-land, still grow with your growth, and strengthen with your strength, that Britain may ever be honoured and blessed in her Australian offspring, and that her children of the Southern Hemisphere may long emulate the virtues of the race from which they have sprung."

The initiatory measure which would prepare the Australian colonies for the change that assuredly awaits them, whether Great Britain should ever discharge her bounden duty towards them in the way I have suggested or not, while it would ensure to the Mother-country all the great advantages that may be reaped from that change, would simply be an Act of Parliament to provide for the establishment of a House of Assembly and Senate in each colony or province; the former to be elected by the colonists on the principle of universal suffrage, and the latter by the House of Assembly. To the legislature so formed should be surrendered all the revenues arising from all sources whatsoever, within the particular colony or province (*with the exception of the revenues arising from the sale or occupation of the Waste Lands*),\* and the entire control over all such revenues, together with all the other powers of government necessary for the formation of a provincial legislature. The proposed Act would therefore provide a constitution of precisely the same form and character

\* It is obviously impracticable, in the fœderal government of these States, to secure all the rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals, entering into society, must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstance, as on the object to be obtained.—GENERAL WASHINGTON, *when announcing the decision of the Convention for the formation of a Fœderal Union in America.*



for the five colonies or provinces of New South Wales; Van Dieman's Land; South Australia; Victoria, or Port Phillip; and Cooksland, or the Moreton Bay country; to be afterwards extended to the other two colonies or provinces to be formed to the northward—say Leichartsland, extending from the Tropic of Capricorn to the Gulf of Carpentaria, and Flindersland, comprising the peninsula of Cape York; in all seven colonies or provinces.

The proposed Act should also contain a proviso, authorising Her Majesty, in the event of any three of these colonies or provinces agreeing to form a General Government for the whole, on a certain basis to be indicated, and on certain conditions to be specified hereinafter, to recognize the said General or National Government as a Sovereign Power, and to grant entire freedom and independence to the whole Australian Union.

The General or National Government should consist of a Senate and House of Representatives, with a President and Vice-President, and have controul over all Foreign relations, the Public Lands, and the Post Office—in short, over all matters of strictly national concernment. The National Legislature I would designate, neither after the American, nor after the French—a Congress or a National Assembly—but after the British example, a Parliament. The House of Representatives should represent the population of the Union; each province returning a number of members equal to the multiple it should contain of a certain minimum amount of population—say ten, fifteen, or twenty thousand: the Senate should represent the different provinces on a footing of perfect equality; each province returning the same number of senators—say three or five. The senators of the National Parliament I would propose to be elected by the Senate and House of Representatives

of each province, meeting together for that express purpose in the same hall, as is customary on certain prescribed occasions in the Norwegian Storting.

The reasons why I would reserve for the General or National Government the entire controul of the Public Lands are,

1. It would be absolutely necessary for the National Government to have such controul, in order to enable it to fulfil the conditions of the Treaty of Independence to be hereinafter specified; for that treaty could only be made with the National Government, and not with that of any particular province.

2. It would prevent the enactment of injudicious and probably wasteful measures, in regard to the disposal of the waste lands, which might otherwise be passed by some of the provincial legislatures; for this is just the point on which a check would require to be placed upon the action of these legislatures by the national mind.

3. It would introduce uniformity of system and of action throughout the Union, in regard to the disposal of the Public Lands; and,

4. It would greatly strengthen the National Government, and form a national bond of union.

The National Government would therefore have the controul of the entire revenue arising from the sales of public lands throughout the Union; with this proviso, however, that the revenues arising from this source in any particular province should be expended in immigration or otherwise for that province exclusively. It would also have to decide on all questions as to the price of land and the mode of sale; the circumstances of every particular case or province to be taken into account. A Land Office would thus be created by the National Government in each province, and be independent of the Provincial Legislature.

I have taken it for granted that, in the event of Australia becoming free and independent, she would adopt, as a matter of course, a Republican form of government. I look upon this as a settled point, in the present circumstances and condition of the civilized world—not, however, as being the result of reasoning from abstract principles, but simply *ex necessitate rei*, from the necessity of the case.

“Whether opposed or not,” says the eminent French writer, Victor Hugo, “whether acknowledged or rejected, republicanism, all illusions apart, is the future, either proximate or remote, the inevitable future of nations:”\*—and if so, much more so of those essentially plebeian communities, such as our own colonies, that are gradually passing into the condition of nations.

And again:—“Republicanism is the manifest and irresistible portion of the civilized world.”†

To the same effect, Mr. Merivale, the able writer on Colonies and Colonization, observes:—“The state of society in provinces thus circumstanced, is and must be essentially republican, whatever may be the character of their institutions.”‡

“Universal Democracy,” observes Mr. Carlyle, in accordance with these sentiments, “whatever we may think of it, has declared itself as an inevitable fact of the days in which we live; and he who has any chance to instruct, or lead, in his days must begin by admitting that.”

And again:—“Democracy is hot enough here, fierce enough; it is perennial, universal, clearly invincible, among us henceforth.”§

\* Victor Hugo. *Napoleon the Little*.

† Idem. *Ibid*.

‡ Merivale, vol. i. p. 112.

• § *Latter Day Pamphlets*.

“The preparation for the future is widely diffused, and if the results are of a kind for the moment to discourage the eager and impatient, the promises of the age are so great and so confident, that even the most faint-hearted rouse themselves to a belief that a time has arrived in which it is a privilege to live.”\*

And these are not merely the sentiments and opinions of philosophers, politicians and statesmen—they are those of the most eminent divines, both of our own country and of foreign nations. To give only one instance of each—

“I am convinced,” says the celebrated Robert Hall, “there is no crime in being a republican, and that while he obeys the laws, every man has a right to entertain what sentiments he pleases on our form of government, and to discuss this with the same freedom as any other topic.”

“His character,” observes the distinguished author of the *History of the Reformation*, when describing the great Swiss Reformer, Zwingli,—“His character, his habitual intercourse with men, contributed, as much as his sermons, to gain their hearts. He was at once a true Christian and a true republican. The equality of all men was not merely a hackneyed phrase with him: written in his heart, it pervaded his whole life.”†

“I reprobate no form of government upon abstract principles,” says the celebrated Edmund Burke, that ardent admirer of the limited monarchy of the British Constitution. “There may be situations in which the

\* Gervinus—*Introd. to Hist. of 19th Cent.*

† Son caractère, sa manière d'être avec tous les hommes, contribuaient, autant que ses discours, à gagner les cœurs. Il était à la fois un vrai chrétien et un vrai républicain. L'égalité de tous les hommes n'était pas pour lui une phrase banale; écrite dans son cœur, elle se retrouvait dans sa vie.—Caractère de Zwingli. D'Aubigné, ii. 451.

purest democratic form will become necessary. There may be some (very few and very particular circumstances,) where it would be clearly desirable."\*

There are therefore cases in which one particular form of government would be suitable, and no other. There are other cases in which that particular form would not suit at all. No sane person, for example, would propose any other form of government than that of a limited monarchy for Great Britain and Ireland; imbedded as that form is in the whole structure of society, as well as in the habits and feelings, and in all the cherished traditions and associations of the people. But what foundation is there at this moment, or has there ever been, for such a form of government in North America? Where is the long descent of a monarch from the ages of darkness and feebleness in that country? Where are the hereditary aristocracy—the ornament and support of thrones—and the feudal system, its ancient appendage, in the backwoods of America? Where are the associations *there* that embalm that form of government in the hearts of the British people? Again, democracy, such as those of the ancient States of Greece, might have been practicable where the State consisted only of a single city and its surrounding territory, and where the whole of the freemen could easily be assembled, on all important occasions, in the great square of the capital; but it would be utterly

\* *Reflections on the Revolution in France.* To the same effect Lamartine observes, as follows:—"If a people is at one of those epochs when it is necessary to act with all the intensity of its strength, in order to operate within and without one of those organic transformations which are as necessary to people as is a current to waves or explosion to compressed powers—a republic is the obligatory and fated form of a nation at such a moment.—*History of the Girondists*, vol. i. p. 25. Now the Australian people are unquestionably at such an epoch at the present moment.

impracticable either in Great Britain or in America. The only form of government indeed that was at all practicable in the latter case was that of a representative and federative republic, or a confederation of smaller republics headed up into one great one for all matters of common interest exclusively. Now, for precisely the same reasons that this was the only practicable form of government in North America, it would be the only practicable form for free and independent Australia. In short, I am a Republican, as far as the future government of Australia is concerned, not from any preconceived idea of the exclusive excellence of that form of government, or of its fitness for all cases and circumstances, and still less from an ignorant contempt for other forms of government, and in particular for the limited monarchy of the British Constitution; but simply from a candid and dispassionate view of all the circumstances of our particular case, and from the settled conviction to which I have thus been led, that it is the only form of government at all practicable for free and independent Australia.

The people of England are doubtless rather sensitive on this point. They are strongly and conscientiously attached to their own limited monarchy, and believe that it is by far the best form of government for their country—for the preservation of all that is valuable in its institutions, and for the maintenance of the liberties of its people. But they are no political propagandists. They believe that other people may live as well as they do under very different forms of government, and they admit that there are cases in which their particular form would be utterly impracticable.\*

\* Forms of government possess a diversity as legitimate as the diversity of character, of geographical situation, and of intellectual, moral and material development amongst the nations. Like indi-

Besides, the republican form of government has been tried for nearly a century in the United States, by a

viduals, they have their different ages: the principles which govern them have successive phases. Monarchical, Aristocratic, Constitutional and Republican Governments, are the expression of these different degrees of maturity in the genius of the people. They demand more liberty in proportion as they feel themselves more capable of supporting it; they require more equality and democracy in proportion as they are more inspired with justice and love of the people.—*Lamartine's Circular to the Diplomatic Agents of the French Republic, 1848.*

There are two maxims on this subject that are commonly retailed in society, and that pass current for much more than they are worth. The first is that of Pope, in his *Essay on Man*:—

For forms of government let fools contest;  
Whate'er is best administered is best.

Pope's real meaning in this carelessly-expressed sentiment, as he afterwards explained himself in one of his letters to Dr. Atterbury, the Nonjuring Bishop of Rochester, was simply that the right administration of any form of government was of far more importance to the subject than its mere theoretical perfection. The other maxim, delivered in the form of a compliment to one of the Roman Emperors, by the courtly poet Claudian, is—

Nunquam libertas gratior extat,  
Quam sub rege pio.

*Liberty is never sweeter than under a virtuous prince*; meaning a despotic emperor, like those of Rome. But how much more dignified, how much more accordant with the principles of eternal justice, as well as with the moral nature and essential dignity of man, than either of these slavish maxims, the sentiments of the distinguished American moralist, Dr. Channing:—

“I know,” says that writer, “that tyranny” (or a despotic form of government) “does evil by invading men's outward interests, by making property and life insecure, by robbing the labourer to pamper the noble and king. But its worst influence is *within*. Its chief curse is, that it breaks and tames the spirit, sinks man in his own eyes, takes away vigour of thought and action, substitutes for conscience an outward rule, makes him subject, cowardly, a parasite and a cringing slave. This is the

people of precisely the same origin as the colonists of Australia; and, its bitterest enemies even being judges, it has succeeded in that case beyond all expectation.\* Now, there is no conceivable reason why it should not succeed equally well in Australia. Nay, there is good reason to believe that it would succeed still better with us; as we have no such dangerous and disturbing elements as domestic slavery and the presence of an inferior race to interfere with its popular and beneficial working in this country. And if our Custom-house system were to be abolished, as I should propose, one of the principal sources of future danger to the present republican system of America would be entirely removed.

curse of tyranny. It wars with the soul, and thus it wars with God." "It has often been said, that a good code of laws, and not the form of government, is what determines a people's happiness. But good laws, if not springing from the community, if imposed by a master, would lose much of their value. The best code is that which has its origin in the will of the people who obey it; which, whilst it speaks with authority, still recognizes self-government as the primary right and duty of a rational being, and which thus cherishes in the individual, be his condition what it may, a just self-respect." "Free institutions contribute in no small degree to freedom and force of mind, by teaching the essential equality of men, and their right and duty to govern themselves."

But even Pope, in his wiser mood, expresses himself like a man:—

Who first taught souls enslaved, and realms undone,  
Th' enormous faith of many made for one?  
That proud exception in all Nature's laws,  
T' invert the world and counterwork its cause?

*Essay on Man.*

\* "The democratic constitution of America," observes Professor Gervinus, "is the choice of the people. This state grew unobserved in the far West, and came forth from obscurity just as Russia reached her full maturity in the East; they attained to historical importance at the same time; Napoleon raised Russia to



It may doubtless be alleged that the Republican form of government has been twice tried in France, and has entirely failed in both cases. But the reason

the acme of her greatness, and America purchased from him the power of displaying her strength on a wider field, and opposing her popular influence to the dynastic despotic influence of Russia. The aspect of this rapidly unfolding, free, happy state, without a king, aristocracy, or state church, has a wonderful attraction to the people of all nations, and exercises a direct influence over them, which, though at first little noted, is now too powerful to be stopped in its onward course. Its fortunes attract the attention of the people of Europe, who are wearied with their worn-out institutions; and by the facility of constant intercourse, tidings of the most prosperous among the emigrants is rapidly spread among the lower classes of society. To this propagandism, which has never been sufficiently appreciated, may be added the active exertions of literature, which has become proportionably democratic throughout Europe. Numbers from the educated classes, who earn their daily bread by this literature, extend a hand in sympathy to those below them, and assist at the work of democracy." "Monarchical policy has nothing but an uninfluential dependent part of the press to maintain its moral power on the field, against this united and equal force, capable of the most marvellous political co-operation; the provincial assemblies, from which alone a practical political education could have been derived, have been suppressed and undermined, and even where they have the semblance of existence, have lost the confidence of the people and become useless, because they have only a semblance. The field is therefore left open to democratic principles. They progress in every path; in the violent one of revolution, where in the agrarian law of the doctrines of socialism they have received their most terrific watchword; still more effectually along the quiet pathway of ideas and habits which undermine power. More and more they influence the thoughts of men. Revived usages, the political opinions and practice of individuals and of governments, even of those which are opposed to democracy, are all governed by it. The changes in property, the equal right of inheritance, educational institutions open to all, facility of intercourse, everything tends to the approximation of classes." "This is the great feature of the time."—Gervinus' *Introd. to Hist. of 19th Cent.*

of that failure is obvious, and peculiar to France—I mean the existence of a vast standing army within the French territory. This grand source of the repeated failure of a republican form of government in that country was foreseen and predicted by an eminent statesman of our own country to whom I have repeatedly referred—the Right Hon. Edmund Burke—from the very commencement of the First French Revolution.

“Armies,” observes Mr. Burke, “have hitherto yielded a very precarious and uncertain obedience to any senate, or popular authority; and they will least of all yield to an assembly which is only to have a continuance of two years. The officers must totally lose the characteristic disposition of military men, if they see with perfect submission and due admiration, the dominion of pleaders; especially when they find that they have a new court to pay to an endless succession of those pleaders, whose military policy, and the genius of whose command, (if they should have any,) must be as uncertain as their duration is transient. In the weakness of one kind of authority, and in the fluctuation of all, the officers of an army will remain for some time mutinous and full of faction, until some popular general, who understands the art of conciliating the soldiery, and who possesses the true spirit of command, shall draw the eyes of all men upon himself. Armies will only obey him on his personal account. There is no other way of securing military obedience in this state of things. But the moment in which that event shall happen, the person who really commands the army is your master—the master of your whole republic.”\*

In this oracular language was predicted the rise of the first Napoleon, when he was only a subaltern in one of the Royal Regiments of Artillery; and the Empire

\* Ubi supra.

arose on the ruins of the Republic in accordance with this very remarkable prediction. The recent re-establishment of the Empire, therefore, under circumstances precisely similar, is not to be wondered at. On the contrary, it was an event to be expected every hour, so long as the French Republic continued to maintain a standing army of nearly half a million of men.\*

It may doubtless be alleged that the Americans, although Republicans, have a standing army, which has recently been considerably increased since the acquisition of California and the territories adjacent; but that army is very small, and it exists chiefly for the occupation of certain forts or garrisons on their frontiers, for their occasional wars with the Indians, as of late in Florida, and for the protection and defence of certain points within their vast territory, which are supposed to require the presence of an armed force. Latterly, indeed, a considerable, though temporary, addition was made to that army during their unjust and unnecessary war of aggression in Mexico. But the theory of the American Constitution is to have no regular standing army; and the well grounded jealousy of republicans on this point is remarkably evinced in the uniform and steady refusal of their Congress to create any higher rank than that of Major-General in their army, or of Post Captain or Commodore in their navy. Even as it is, however, the extraordinary and apparently increasing deference that has of late been paid to military fame in the United States is one of the worst features in their political system, and indicates danger ahead.† Free and inde-

\* The other two rocks, on which the barque of the late French Republic unfortunately split, were an army of public functionaries under the influence and controul of a centralized government, and the connection of Church and State.

† During the last twenty years or thereby, there have been not fewer than four Military Presidents of the United States, viz.:-

pendent Australia, however, would be much less exposed to any such danger than the United States. The process of annexation, in the event of our obtaining our National Independence, would go on naturally and spontaneously with us, and without involving the country in collisions with any power in the civilized world. New Zealand, for instance, would very soon annex herself to our confederation; and Great Britain, with her present lights, would scarcely even desire to prevent her: while the great Island of New Guinea, with numerous others in the Western Pacific (which are all still in a state of comparative barbarism) would be annexed and colonized in rapid succession, on the understanding and condition of their being admitted as integral parts of the Union, whenever the amount of their population should in any instance admit of such an arrangement. At the same time, it would be very desirable that Australia, when free and independent, should, as early as possible, be possessed of a small fleet or navy—for surveying purposes, for the protection of trade and the suppression of piracy in the Eastern

General Jackson, General Harrison, General Taylor, and now General Pierce. It is a bad sign; and the lust of conquest, with which we seem to have inoculated them, is evidently in keeping with it. Montesquieu has shewn that success or victory in war is as fatal to the existence of a Republic as defeat. It was the great naval victory of Salamis that ruined the commonwealth of Athens: it was its triumph over the Athenians that ruined the Republic of Syracuse—transforming it into a military despotism. “It is not the country,” says Lamartine, “which runs the greatest danger in war; it is liberty. War is almost always a dictatorship;—soldiers forget institutions for men;—thrones tempt the ambitions;—glory dazzles patriotism. The *prestige* of a glorious name veils the design on national sovereignty; the republic doubtless desires glory, but she desires it for herself and not for Caesars, or Napoleons.” Lamartine’s *Circular to the Diplomatic Agents of the French Republic*, 1848.

Islands of the Indian Archipelago, and for the extension of civilization, as well as of the influence and benefits of the Union among the Islands of the Western Pacific. A respectable navy, to consist chiefly of armed steam-vessels, would require to be formed for these purposes at a very early period in the history of the nation; but Australia is happily too far removed from the rest of the civilized world, to be engaged, if left to herself, in any war, either of aggression or of defence, for a century to come.

As it has become fashionable of late, in the Legislative regions of New South Wales, to decry everything like popular government, or democracy, that is government by and for the people,—with a view to perpetuate the vile oligarchy we have at present—I shall append in a note the character given us of the antient Grecian democracy, by the distinguished statesman and historian, Mr. Grote, as also by the Edinburgh Reviewer; together with an extract of a speech on the same subject, by the illustrious Pericles, the political chief of the Athenian democracy.\*

\* Democracy in Grecian antiquity possessed the privilege, not only of kindling an earnest and unanimous attachment to the constitution in the bosoms of the citizens, but also of creating an energy of public and private action, such as could never be obtained under an oligarchy, where the utmost that could be hoped for was a passive acquiescence and obedience. The theory of democracy was pre-eminently seductive; creating in the mass of the citizens an intense positive attachment, and disposing them to voluntary action and suffering on its behalf, such as no coercion on the part of other governments could entail. Among the Athenian citizens it produced a strength and unanimity of positive political sentiment, such as has rarely been seen in the history of mankind, which excites our surprise and admiration the more when we compare it with the apathy which had preceded. Because democracy happens to be unpalatable to most modern readers, they have been accustomed to look upon the sentiment here described only in its

least honourable manifestations—in the caricatures of Aristophanes, or in the empty common places of rhetorical declaimers. But it is not in this way that the force, the earnestness, or the binding value of democratical sentiment at Athens is to be measured. We must listen to it as it comes from the lips of Pericles, while he is strictly enforcing upon the people those active duties for which it both implanted the stimulus and supplied the courage; or from the oligarchical Nicias in the harbour of Syracuse, when he is endeavouring to revive the courage of his despairing troops, for one last death struggle, and when he appeals to their democratical patriotism as to the only flame yet alive and burning even in that moment of agony.—Grote, vol. iv. p. 237—9.

The intellectual and moral pre-eminence which made Athens the centre of good to Greece, and of the good to after generations, of which Greece has been the medium, was wholly the fruit of Athenian institutions. It was the consequence, first, of democracy, and secondly, of the wise and well-considered organization by which the Athenian democracy was distinguished among the democratic institutions of antiquity. The Athenian constitution was a democracy, that is, government by a multitude, composed in majority of poor persons—small landed proprietors and artisans. It had the additional democratic characteristic, far more practically important than even the political franchise; it was a government of boundless publicity and freedom of speech.—Edin. Rev., Oct. 1853. Page 434.

We live under a constitution such as no way to envy the laws of our neighbours—ourselves an example to others rather than imitators. It is called a democracy, since its aim tends towards the Many, and not towards the Few; in regard to private matters and disputes, the laws deal equally with every one; while in respect to public dignity and importance, the position of each is determined, not by class influence, but by worth, according as his reputation stands in his particular department; nor does poverty or obscure station keep him back, if he has any capacity of benefiting the State. And our social march is free, not merely in regard to public affairs, but also in regard to tolerance of each other's diversity of tastes and pursuits.—*Pericles to the Athenians, in Thucydides*, quoted by Grote, vol. vi. p. 193.

SECTION III.—PROPOSED CONDITIONS OF THE TREATY OF INDEPENDENCE—HALF OF THE LAND REVENUE TO BE APPROPRIATED FOR THE PROMOTION OF EMIGRATION FROM GREAT BRITAIN.

As one of the main objects of colonization is to provide an eligible outlet for the redundant population of the Mother-country, I would take it for granted that Great Britain would never concede independence to any colony, or group of colonies, at all adapted for such a purpose, without providing for the carrying out of this great object as fully as if the colony, or group of colonies, had continued a dependency or group of dependencies. And it is chiefly on the vast importance of such an arrangement to Great Britain, and the unspeakable advantage she would gain in this particular from the proposed change in the condition of her colonies, that I would base any hope I have of the favourable entertainment of my proposal in influential quarters.

The particular reasons why it would not be expedient for Great Britain to surrender the controul of the waste lands to the provincial governments, are, *First*, that if these lands were to be surrendered unconditionally to the provincial governments, these governments might determine that no part of the proceeds arising from their sale should be appropriated for the promotion of immigration:\* and *Second*, that even although the provincial

\* The following extract of a letter from Earl Grey to the Governor of New South Wales, of date, "Downing Street, 27th May, 1851," embodies a Resolution of the Legislative Council of that colony, on the appropriation of the Land Revenue:—

"I have received your Despatch No. 239, of the 31st December last, forwarding an Address from the Legislative Council of New South Wales to the Queen, setting forth the amount expended upon Immigration from the Land Fund since the year 1836, and the debt incurred upon it for the same object, setting forth the advantages derived from that outlay to the Mother-country, and urging

governments might appropriate a portion of the land revenue for immigration, the probability is that there would be no restriction imposed as to where the immigrants should come from; so that Great Britain would reap no *special* advantage from the arrangement, and might possibly be excluded from *any* advantage from it through the competition of foreigners. Ideas of this kind have of late, and especially since the discovery of gold, been put forth again and again in New South Wales; and I have oftener than once incurred some degree of obloquy myself, in the Legislative Council of that colony, for insisting, as I have uniformly done, that the waste lands are *not* the property of the actual colonists, as certain influential members of Council are in the habit of regarding them, but of the British empire,—to be administered, however, for the mutual advantage of the Mother-country and the colony. At the last general election in New South Wales, several of the candidates put forth the idea that, as the discovery of gold would send out plenty of emigrants to the colony, no part of the land fund ought in future to be appropriated for immigration purposes, but that the whole of it should be applied for the construction of roads and bridges, &c. But Great Britain has a deep interest in preventing any such measure from being carried,—she has a deep interest, on behalf of her industrious and virtuous poor, in insisting upon the continuance of the

that it is no part of the duty of the colonists to pay for the importation of Emigrants.”—*Council Paper*.

There is no proposition or observation of mine in this whole volume that breathes such a spirit of alienation, and, I will add, of hostility towards Great Britain and her interests, as this Resolution of the Legislative Council of New South Wales: and the circumstance serves to show what Great Britain would have to expect from surrendering the Waste Lands to the Local Legislatures, without the security I propose.



present arrangement for the appropriation of one-half of the land fund for the promotion of emigration from the United Kingdom.

I am therefore decidedly of opinion that Great Britain should on no account surrender the controul of the waste lands to any mere provincial legislature, and that she should make it a *sine qua non*, in a Treaty of Independence with the General or National Government, that one-half of the proceeds of the sales of all waste lands throughout the Union, should be appropriated as at present for the promotion of emigration from Great Britain and Ireland; the price of the land to be fixed, either permanently or from time to time, by the National Government, and the emigrants, to be carried out from the proceeds of the land revenue, to be selected under the superintendence of fit and proper persons possessing the confidence of the legislature or government of each particular province.

This arrangement would effectually ensure a thoroughly British population for the Australian provinces, which, I confess,—with the best possible feelings towards foreigners of all nations,—I regard as a matter of essential importance for their welfare and advancement. Under such an arrangement also, the National Government of the Australian Union would virtually be a mere *agency*, and as far as the Mother-country is concerned, an *unpaid agency*, for carrying out the first grand object of colonization for Great Britain, viz., the providing of an eligible outlet for her redundant population. The Australian provinces would therefore, although formally free and independent, be in reality a series of *Tributary States* to Great Britain; paying her a large amount of *tribute* for the promotion of emigration from her shores every year: for although the benefit would be mutual and equal, the arrangement would

necessarily take the form of a large annual contribution to the British treasury from Australia—probably not less in amount than a million and-a-half a-year.\*

I can imagine no difficulty whatever in the way of the carrying out of such an arrangement as I propose, or of the creation of the requisite guarantees to ensure the fulfilment of the proposed condition. Great Britain would have this completely in her own power, and could easily enforce the fulfilment of such a condition, if there were the slightest disposition exhibited on the part of the Australian government to set aside the treaty. But this is scarcely conceivable; for the arrangement would be so beneficial to both parties that there could be no disposition to withdraw from the terms of the engagement. I would limit the arrangement, however, to the period of FIFTY YEARS. If at the close of that period, a future generation of Australians should deem it expedient to renew the treaty, on the same conditions, they would have it in their power to do so; but if not, they would be free to do as they pleased. And in the mean time, I can think of nothing that would be likely to interrupt the friendly intercourse that would be sure to subsist between the two countries, on a basis of such reciprocal advantage.

I am happy to find a confirmation of some at least of these views in the following passages of the work of G. C. Lewis, Esq., to which I have already repeatedly referred. I concur entirely with Mr. Lewis in the view he takes of the vast importance of colonization for the

\* The revenue which may be derived from the sale of wild land is the fund out of which the cost of introducing emigrants is best defrayed. This is the suggestion which, in reality, forms the great discovery of Mr. Wakefield, and does the greatest credit to those who have supported and enforced his views. About the speculative parts of his scheme many doubts may be entertained; respecting this there can scarcely be two opinions. Merivale, vol. ii. p. 51.

advancement of mankind ; and it is for this reason that I would endeavour above all things to obtain a thoroughly British population for the colonies of Australia : for how good soever other people may be, " There's nae folk like our ain folk,"\* for the *heroic work* of colonization. I was told by a gentleman, recently arrived from San Francisco, that about a third of the inhabitants of that city are French immigrants ; I confess I should be sorry, on various accounts, to see such a proportion of foreigners, even from *La belle France*, in any city of Australia. I trust also that Mr. Lewis will recognize, in the plan I have just sketched out, as favourable a prospect of extensive and efficient colonization as has ever been submitted to the British nation. But I shall recur to this part of the subject more particularly in the sequel.

" The system of defraying the expenses of emigrants from the proceeds of the sale of public lands in the colony *does not necessarily suppose that the new settlement is a dependency of the country which sends out the emigrants*. If it were advantageous for a new settlement to employ a portion of its public revenues (whether arising from the sale of lands or from any other source) in procuring immigrants, its government would naturally devote a portion of its revenues to this purpose, whether the settlement were independent or dependent."

" On reviewing the history of the Greek colonies, the conquests of Alexander and of the Romans, and the settlements of the modern European nations in Asia, Africa, America and Australia, it will be seen that the advancement of mankind is to be expected rather from the diffusion of civilized nations than from the improvement of barbarous or half-civilized tribes. The promotion of successful colonization is, therefore, one of the

\* Old Scotch Song.

best means of advancing and diffusing civilization, and raising the general condition of mankind; and whoever can devise or carry into execution any effectual means for facilitating and improving it, is among the greatest benefactors of his race. But *there is nothing in the colonial relation which implies that the colony must be a dependency of the Mother-country; nor generally is it expedient that such a relation should exist, even in the case of a newly-founded Settlement.*"\*

SECTION IV.—REASONS WHY THE EXTENT OF TERRITORY SUGGESTED IS DESIRABLE FOR THE GENERAL OR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

I have already observed that the provinces which ought to be comprised in the Australian Union, under the style and title of "THE SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES OF AUSTRALIA," are, 1st. New South Wales; 2nd. Van Dieman's Land; 3rd. South Australia; 4th. Victoria, or Port Phillip; 5th. Cooksland, or the Moreton Bay country; 6th. Leichartsland, or the country intervening between the Tropic of Capricorn and the Gulf of Carpentaria; and 7th. Flindersland, or the Peninsula of Cape York. The first four of these have all been duly constituted and recognised as separate and distinct colonies, and the fifth has already applied to be recognised and admitted into the group as a separate and independent colony. But why, it may be asked, why require a further extension of territory, still waste and unoccupied? I answer—for the following reasons:—

1. If the arrangement I have suggested as to the appropriation of one-half of the proceeds of all future sales of Waste Land within the boundaries indicated, for the promotion of emigration from the United Kingdom to

\* *Essay on Government of Dependencies.* By George Cornwall Lewis, Esq., p. 235.

Australia, were made imperative as a condition of the cession, Great Britain would be as much benefited by conceding the extent of territory enclosed within these boundaries, as we should be in obtaining it. For, as I have already observed, we should in that case be virtually, and to all intents and purposes, a tributary State to Great Britain, working out a great national benefit for the people of the United Kingdom, without costing them a farthing in any way. Supposing, however, that a boundary line should be struck for the two countries at the Tropic of Capricorn—the present limits of Australian colonization northwards—what would be the consequence? Why, the Squatters would soon cross that line in hundreds into the fine pastoral country within the British territory to the northward, where, being free from all controul, on the part of the Australian government, and having no rents or license fees to pay for their runs, they would take possession of the country in all directions and divide it among themselves in vast domains, which they would thenceforth claim as their own by right of occupation. And as the pastoral country in this direction is inland, and not immediately on the coast, this process would go on without the knowledge and beyond the controul of Great Britain, till the Squatters in possession should at length be numerous enough to defy the Mother-country, to declare themselves independent, and to annex themselves as a Sovereign State to the Australian Union; just as the American squatters did in the State of Texas. Great Britain would thus lose the entire benefit of the Land Revenue which might otherwise be derived from this extensive territory, while the Australian Republic would reap no advantage from it. The country would, in the mean time, be a common receptacle for lawless characters of all descriptions, and no regular government

would be practicable within it, until it had declared its independence. But if the boundary should be extended at once to the northern extremity of the land, Great Britain would derive a constant revenue from the progressive sale of land throughout this vast territory, as colonization advanced northward; and the Australian Union would be able to set up a regular government in it from the very first.

2. Great Britain can never expect to colonize the northern coasts of Australia with emigrants from the United Kingdom, so long as there are such extensive regions as there are open for colonization in both hemispheres, in climates so much more congenial to Europeans. But the rapid progress of the flocks and herds of the actual colonists is gradually drawing adventurers along with them in that direction, who become accustomed and reconciled to the warmer climate as they advance to the northward. These adventurers have already reached the Tropic of Capricorn, and they will soon reach the Head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, as there is a fine pastoral country all the way. Besides, there is now a large and constantly increasing number of intelligent colonists from the West Indies in New South Wales and Port Phillip, who have been already inured to a Tropical climate, and who would willingly settle in any part of the unoccupied territory to the northward, to pursue the different agricultural operations to which they have been accustomed in that climate, if a regular supply of cheap labour could be ensured to them. Now, as there are certain islands in the Indian Archipelago, inhabited by Malay Christians, with a redundant population, there would be no difficulty in getting any number of these people to settle as agricultural labourers for hire, under European superintendence, in any settlement to be formed in the Gulf of Carpentaria, from which their

own islands are distant only a few days' sail. English schoolmasters, to be settled in the locality, under the patronage of the National Government, would teach the children of these people the English language and ideas, and thereby enable them to become the pioneers of our commerce and civilization in all the Eastern Islands of that vast groupe. These Malay Christians, who are a very superior class of people, would thus be all amalgamated in due time with the general population of the new settlement, and would prove the means of inducing many others of their own race, from all the surrounding islands, to settle along with them, to be engaged as hired labourers in all the branches of Tropical agriculture under their European leaders.

It would doubtless be undesirable, and impolitic in the highest degree, to promote the introduction and settlement of any of the inferior races of the East in the present Australian provinces; especially in the way in which they are actually introduced already in considerable numbers into these provinces, to be employed as shepherds and stockmen in the interior: for it is morally impossible that in such a condition any measures for their gradual elevation in the scale of society could be brought to bear upon them. But it is hopeless to think of our ever getting a British population of the humbler classes, to form a regular and permanent labouring population, in any settlement in the Torrid Zone, either on the northern coasts of Australia, or in the great island of New Guinea; which will naturally, and as a matter of course, fall into the hands of the future Australian Republic. Individuals of these classes—mechanics, shopkeepers, general dealers, and enterprising young men of all grades—will doubtless be attracted to these settlements from time to time from the southern provinces. But the inhabitants of British origin will

constitute only a small proportion of the future population of these regions; which will consist in great measure of an amalgam of Malays and Chinese. Britons will form, from the first, however, the natural aristocracy of the country—the aristocracy of mind; and their interest and duty, in accordance with such judicious measures as should be adopted for the purpose by the National Government, will be to elevate the inferior population, whether consisting of Aborigines, of Malays, or of Chinese, to their own higher level, through the gradual prevalence of our language, our laws and our religion, by means of a European education, and the extension of equal rights and privileges to all. In short, under the system I propose, the future inhabitants of European race in these northern regions would form a grand mission of civilization for the elevation of all the inferior races; and it cannot be denied that these regions form at this moment one of the noblest fields for such a purpose on the face of the earth.

3. It is indispensably necessary for the progress of colonization in Australia, and especially for the trade and commerce of the actual colonies, to have free access overland, from the southward and eastward respectively, to the Gulf of Carpentaria, without passing through Torres Straits. In connection with such lines of communication, from the southern colonies, the head of that Gulf will be a great centre point of future colonization, as well as of commerce, for Australia; but such a system of operations could not be worked well separately, or under different governments.\*

\* From the northernmost point which the Murray River reaches in its long course from the Snowy Mountains to its embouchure in Encounter Bay, in the province of South Australia, viz., the 34th parallel of latitude, a little to the eastward of the boundary of that province, the distance to the Head of the Gulf of Carpentaria



The formation of a great emporium of trade, by a people of British origin, at the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria,—where the produce of the surrounding country, within a circuit of four or five hundred miles, as well as that of all the eastern islands of the Archipelago, might be collected for British shipping—would be an event of the utmost importance to the trade and navigation of Great Britain. A settlement of this kind, to be formed directly by Great Britain herself, would be enormously expensive and would certainly prove a failure; as not fewer than three different attempts of the kind, on the north coast of Australia, viz., at Melville Island, at Raffles Bay, and at Port Essington, have

is about a thousand geographical miles. The intervening country, in so far as is known of it, is remarkably level and well fitted for the construction of a railway; and about half-way between the two extremities of the line, as well as at the head of the Gulf, there is an extensive tract of the finest country imaginable, either for agriculture or grazing. Now there can be no doubt whatever that in a few years hence a railway will be constructed from the point I have indicated on the Murray to the Gulf of Carpentaria. That point would be nearly equidistant from Melbourne and Adelaide, the course being *up* the river towards the one, and *down* towards the other. This measure will very soon be absolutely necessary for both of these colonies, to afford an outlet for their superabundant stock; and when effected, it will bring both of them within a few days journey of one of the most important geographical points in the whole world. But if it should be asked, Where are the funds to come from to effect so gigantic an undertaking? I answer, From the progressive sale and settlement of the Waste Land. The thing might easily be effected in this way without costing any one of the three colonies concerned—New South Wales, Port Phillip and South Australia—a single farthing eventually. New South Wales would join the main trunk line at Fort Bourke, in latitude 30°, which would also be a great centre-point for the Moreton Bay country. Nothing in short would tend so strongly as this great public work of the future to bind the whole of Eastern Australia, from the South Cape of Van Dieman's Land to Cape York, into one magnificent volume.

all done already. But the thing would be comparatively easy for the National Government of Australia, and could be effected at a very small cost altogether.

Besides, it is only through a settlement of this kind—a settlement of people of British origin, of all ranks and conditions in society, mingling freely and familiarly with the inferior races—that the mass of the population in these regions will eventually rise to their proper level, that an extensive influence for good can ever be exercised over these races. The famous settlement of Singapore, formed by Sir Stamford Raffles, at the western extremity of the Archipelago, although successful enough in a commercial point of view, has proved an utter failure in this far more important and higher respect. The British residents of that settlement are all merchant princes, who occupy the higher walks of society exclusively, and never mingle with the inferior population; over whom therefore they exercise no influence whatever. But let such a settlement as the future National Government of Australia could easily form at the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, be established in that commanding locality—consisting of people of British origin of all grades of society, who would mingle freely with the inferior races, and send forth their adventurous youth to trade with them in the surrounding islands, to acquire their languages and to establish friendly relations with them—and the result would be very different and highly satisfactory.

4. The formation of one or more settlements towards Cape York, the northern extremity of the Australian land, is now indispensably necessary, as a measure of humanity, for the protection and relief of shipwrecked mariners and others in the peculiarly dangerous navigation of Torres Straits. Such a settlement or settle-

ments would be of the greatest benefit, in the case of shipwreck, (which is not unfrequent in that locality), to the numerous British ships that are now constantly passing northwards, during the favourable season, from all the different Australian ports, to China, Manilla, or the East Indies. But the formation of such a settlement, by Great Britain, would, for the reasons I have stated already, be very expensive on the one hand, and be likely to prove a failure on the other; whereas it could be effected with the greatest facility and at a comparatively small cost, by the National Government of Australia, and it would form besides a most important station in the vanguard of civilization towards the numerous islands of the Western Pacific, and the great island of New Guinea. A settlement of this kind would also require to be formed almost immediately at the mouth of the Burdekin River, on the East Coast, which is supposed to empty itself into the Pacific in the latitude of the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, to which there will doubtless be a passage eventually from the Pacific overland. And why should Great Britain be at the expense of forming such settlements as these, which will all eventually fall from her grasp, when her shipping can have all the benefit she can ever expect from them without cost to herself? She can never make colonization pay in such localities, especially at so immense a distance from the Mother-country; and as a general rule, to which there may doubtless be particular exceptions, colonization ought never to be attempted unless it will pay. There would be no danger of its paying eventually, even in such localities, in the hands of the National Government of Australia.

“The Seven United Provinces” would therefore comprise the whole eastern coast-line from the South Cape

of Van Dieman's Land to Cape York, with a port or outlet on the Gulf of Carpentaria.

5. It is neither expedient nor desirable that, in conceding entire freedom and independence to any of her colonies that have reached their majority, Great Britain should allow them to form a number of petty independent States, like the ancient Republics of Greece. It will be far preferable for themselves, and for the interests of humanity, that wherever their actual circumstances and relative situations shall admit of such an arrangement, they should form one large state, through a confederation of separate and independent provinces, like the United States.\* As separate and independent States, the present Australian colonies would be comparatively insignificant, and would have no weight or influence in the family of nations; but seven such provinces united, with the whole eastern coast of Australia for their coast-line towards the Pacific, would at once form the first power in the southern hemisphere, and prove, as I shall show presently, a formidable rival (and the only formidable rival that great country is ever likely to have out of Europe) even to the United States.

It may doubtless be alleged that the future condition of the Australian Colonies, after they shall have become free and independent, is a matter with which Great Britain can have nothing to do, and in which she can have no influence on the one hand and no interest on the other. But this would be a great mistake. The voice of history informs us that the characteristic of all the people or nations of Teutonic origin, as it was unquestionably that of the antient Greeks, is a strong love of

\* The undoubted tendency of the last three centuries has been to consolidate what were once separate States or Kingdoms into one great nation. Dr. Arnold.

freedom and an equally strong repugnance to centralized government of any kind. "A government formed after one standard," observes Professor Gervinus, one of the great lights of modern Germany,—“A government formed after one standard—power concentrated in one hand—has neither suited the Teutonic people nor the genius of the Protestant religion. The type of their government has rather been, from the beginning of history to this day, a confederation of people and States, such as those of Germany and Switzerland, the Hanseatic League, the Netherlands and America, where, although their centralized government might perhaps be somewhat disjointed, no maturer political experience or theory could draw it closer together.”\*

And again:—“The federal union which united the Dutch provinces was neither firmer nor politically better planned than in Switzerland or Germany; and the same characteristic may be remarked in every confederation of Teutonic origin, even in America, that they only combined in times of danger, and that, notwithstanding the constitution, the tie is loosened on a return of security.”†

There was extreme difficulty in forming a General Government, even for the little Republics of Switzerland; and even after such a government had been formed, certain of the Cantons reserved to themselves the right of separate action as Sovereign and Independent States!

“The original Cantons of Switzerland,” observes the distinguished ecclesiastical historian, Dr. Merle d’Aubigné, “had renounced the right of forming fresh alliances, without the general consent of the confe-

\* *Introd. to Hist. of 19th Cent.*

Idem. *ibidem.*

derates; but *Zurich and Berne had reserved to themselves this power.*"\*

It was the instinct of self-preservation that originally united the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands against the overwhelming power of Spain; and it was the same instinct that united the original Thirteen Colonies of America against the tyranny of Britain. In both cases there was the utmost difficulty in preventing the entire separation of the different provinces when the pressure from without was withdrawn. Hence the urgent necessity for the Imperial Government's exercising such a power, as might easily be exerted at present over a series of subject colonies, in binding up into one magnificent volume the future Seven United Provinces of Eastern Australia. Only permit these provinces to become free and independent without any previous provision of this kind, and their future condition in reference to each other would be one of the most difficult problems imaginable.

If it is desirable for Great Britain herself, as well as for Australia and the whole civilized world, as it unquestionably is, that Eastern Australia, in the event of the actual colonies becoming free and independent, should form one Great Nation, instead of a series of small ones, she must provide for that issue beforehand, in the way I have suggested; for otherwise, there is not the least likelihood of its being realized at all. Under the present colonial system, there are always petty jealousies subsisting between the different colonies, even of the same group; which, if they were all free and independent, might prove a source of repulsion rather than of attraction.

\* Les Cantons primitifs de la Suisse avaient renoncé au droit de former de nouvelles alliances, sans le consentement de tous; mais *Zurich et Berne s'en étaient réservé le pouvoir.* *Histoire de la Réformation*, Tom. iv. p. 525.

From the present petty feeling on the subject of pre-eminence, the probability is that, if all the colonies were free and independent, Port Phillip, or Victoria, would endeavour to form a separate State, in conjunction with Van Dieman's Land and South Australia, and break off from New South Wales and the northern colonies altogether. But I repeat it, it is not for the interest of Great Britain, or of the world at large, to permit such an arrangement to take place; and so long as it is in the power of the Mother-country to bind together the whole of the eastern provinces into one great nation—one mighty power in the Pacific, that will condescend to play "no second fiddle" to Brother Jonathan, but will claim perfect equality with him from the first—her proper course in the matter is plain and obvious, and cannot be mistaken.

#### SECTION V.—THE FUTURE CAPITAL OF EASTERN AUSTRALIA.

The position of the future capital of the great Australian Republic would depend entirely on the number and relative situation of the various provinces forming the future confederation. The colonists of Victoria, or Port Phillip, fondly imagine that, because they form a sort of half-way station between Van Dieman's Land and South Australia, and have New South Wales behind them, they must necessarily be the central province of Eastern Australia, and that Melbourne, their capital, must be the Metropolitan City of the future Confederation; forgetting that there is another province, thrice the size of Port Phillip, to the northward of New South Wales, and other two to be formed in the same direction in the course of a few years. In such circumstances, a National Government, embracing the whole extent of Eastern Australia, to the northern extremity of the land, and perhaps including New

Guinea, must obviously have its head-quarters on the Pacific, and not in Bass' Straits; as Melbourne would certainly neither be the central nor the proper position for the seat of a National Government for so vast an Empire. It may be proper, however, to ascertain, in the first instance, what has been the course pursued in a case precisely similar in the United States of America.

About the middle of the 17th century, the detached and previously unconnected Colonies of New England, situated in the northern section of the present United States of America, finding it necessary to unite together for their common defence and protection, as well as for other general purposes, did so accordingly, and formed a Body designated, "The United Colonies of New England," which was afterwards approved and recognized by King Charles II. But under the grinding despotism that subsequently prevailed, during the latter portion of the reign of that monarch, and under his successor, James II., this Body fell into abeyance, and was never afterwards heard of. Its Head-quarters, however, was the City of Boston, in Massachusetts, which is situated in the extreme north of the present United States, although it was the natural centre and capital of the original New England Colonies. About a century thereafter, when various other Colonies had been established much farther south, the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Franklin exerted himself very strenuously to form another and more comprehensive Union of the Colonies, for various important objects, including colonization in the western interior which they then held in common; and the place appointed for the meeting of the deputies who were chosen by the respective colonies to deliberate upon the basis of Union, was the City of Albany, in the Colony of New York, that is a long way to the south of New England altogether. *There* the depv.



ties met accordingly in the year 1754—exactly a hundred years ago—there being delegates present from the colonies so far to the southward as Virginia and Maryland. But through the extravagant pretensions of the Mother-country, which the promoters of the Union deemed utterly irreconcilable with the liberties of the Colonies, this plan of Union also proved abortive. The next association of the kind was of a more permanent character and was not doomed, like the two that had preceded it, to suffer extinction from the obstructive policy of the Mother-country. It was the famous Congress that eventually proclaimed the freedom and independence of the United States in the year 1776. That Congress was held at Philadelphia, a city much farther to the southward than the City of Albany; for the Colonies of North and South Carolina, to the southward of Virginia, had in the meantime joined the Congress, and their convenience had consequently to be consulted in fixing the place of meeting. At length, when the independence of the country had been secured, and the present Constitution definitively agreed to, the seat of Government was finally transferred to the City of Washington, still farther south than Philadelphia; as the Colony of Georgia, the southernmost then in the groupe, had in the interval joined the Union. Now, although Port Phillip and the City of Melbourne would be the natural centre and Head-quarters for the National Government of Free and Independent Australia, so long as there were no other confederated provinces than those of New South Wales, Port Phillip and South Australia, with or without Van Dieman's Land, it would no longer be the centre of the Union or the proper seat for the National Government, when a series of additional provinces should be incorporated with it along the Pacific towards Cape York. In short, as the centre of Union

had to be moved successively to the warmer regions of the south in America, according as the Union extended in that direction, from Boston to Washington; so would the centre of Union in Australia, even if established in the first instance at Melbourne, have to be ultimately moved to the warmer regions of the north, as that is the only direction in which the Australian Union can extend. In short, the City of Sydney, which has the two very important additional advantages of being situated on the Pacific, the largest ocean, and of having one of the finest harbours, in the world, is unquestionably the natural centre and must necessarily be the permanent Head-quarters of the future Australian Empire.

SECTION VI.—PROPOSED CONDITIONS OF THE TREATY OF INDEPENDENCE CONTINUED—NO HOSTILE TARIFF, NO CUSTOM-HOUSE.

The second of the grand objects of colonization is the creation of a market for the surplus produce and manufactures of the Mother-country: and I should consider it expedient and necessary for Great Britain, in conceding entire freedom and independence to any of her full-grown colonies, to make effectual provision, in any Treaty of Independence, that no hostile tariff should be established against her in the country acquiring its freedom, for a certain fixed period at least—say FIFTY YEARS.

But although it would be expedient and necessary for Great Britain to insist upon such a provision for her own interest, I would by no means propose it on the part of the colonies as a special exemption in her favour. On the contrary, I would propose, as a measure of the best possible policy for the future good government of the Australian provinces, that all import duties, and other restrictions on the importation of goods of any descrip-

tion from all foreign parts, should forthwith be discontinued, and all custom-houses abolished.\*

As a proposition of this kind may at first sight seem somewhat startling, it may not be out of place to ascertain the grounds on which it may nevertheless be urged with the utmost propriety.

1. It can be no reason, therefore, why there should be a custom-house in Australia, for the levying of duties on foreign trade, that there is one in England, another in France, and a third in the United States. The circumstances of the countries contrasted, in each of these cases, with Australia, may be totally different from ours. There is an Established Church, for instance, in England, and *one in Ireland, too*; there is an immense standing army in France; and there is the institution of slavery—worst of all—in the United States: but what need have *we*, in Australia, for any of these *transmarine institutions*? Besides, the universality, whether of a custom, or of a custom-house, is no better argument for its propriety, than its great antiquity:

\* Mr. Roebuck proposes, in his scheme of *Municipal Independence*, which is rather *a post too late now for Australia*, that the same privilege, as I propose should be guaranteed by treaty, should be secured by Act of Parliament. “Neither for purposes of regulation or taxation should any power be given to tax the produce and manufactures of the Mother-country or of her colonies; and the Mother-country ought to resolve not to tax the produce of the colonies.”—*The Colonies of England*. By John Arthur Roebuck, Esq., M.P., p. 153. But *he would allow the colonies to tax the productions of other countries as much as they pleased*. Now this is too bad, Mr. Roebuck! To use the language of the poet:

“Free as the winds, and changeless as the sea,  
Should trade and commerce unrestricted be.  
Wherever land is found, or oceans roll,  
Or man exists from Indus to the Pole,  
Open to all, with no false ties to bind,  
The world should be the market of mankind.”

and it is well observed by an able French writer, "Ancient customs are sometimes great abuses, which are only the more dangerous the more respectable they are considered."\* A country overburdened like Great Britain with debt and taxation, could scarcely give up her custom-house with safety to the State; but what has that to do with the case of Australia? We should not even desire to be exempted from customs' duties on Australian produce in England, as Mr. Roebuck proposes for the colonies, on the reciprocity system. We should only desire to be placed on the footing of the most favoured nation.†

2. Custom-houses are a great obstacle in the way of

\* "Les anciennes coutumes ne sont quelquefois que de grands abus, d'autant plus dangereux qu'on les croit plus respectables."—*L'Abbé Millot*. To the same effect, the celebrated Christian Father, Cyprian, in his Epistle to Stephen, bishop of Rome, when testifying against Roman traditions, observes, "Consuetudo sine veritate, vetustas erroris est."—*Custom, without truth for its basis, is merely the antiquity of error*. The same excellent observation will apply equally to custom-houses.

† It is somewhat singular that in one of the most ancient treaties of peace and commerce in existence—viz., between the Carthaginians and Romans,—free-trade and no customs' duties forms one of the stipulations. Polybius (Book 3. chap. 22.) has preserved a copy of a treaty of peace and commerce between the Romans and Carthaginians, concluded so early as in the year after the expulsion of the kings of Rome, under the consulship of Junius Brutus and Marcus Horatius, that is, 28 years before the expedition of Xerxes into Greece, and 246 from the building of Rome. It is remarkable for the entire freedom of trade which it establishes between the rival republics, while it jealously guards against expeditions of war and invasion. The Free-trade proviso, translated into Latin by Isaac Casaubon, is as follows:—

"Qui ad mercaturam venerint, ii vectigal nullum pendunto, extra quam ad præconis aut scribee mercedem." *Let those [Romans] who come [to Carthage] for purposes of trade, pay no customs' duties, with the exception of the fees of the auctioneer and the clerk of the market.*

trade, and frequently a perfect *incubus* upon it. It is universally acknowledged that the public lose far more in the additional price they have to pay for their taxed commodities, than the State derives from the taxes in the shape of duties: and all this loss has to be sustained by the community.\*

3. The taxes levied through the custom-house are unequal in their pressure, and consequently unjust in their operation: they are paid chiefly by the humbler classes, who are least able to bear them. The industrious mechanic, for example, consumes perhaps as much sugar and tea as the squire himself, especially if his wife happens to be a tidy body, and at all fastidious in her taste; but he virtually contributes greatly more to the State.

4. The cost of an efficient custom-house establishment for such a country as Australia would be enormous, and out of all proportion to the amount of revenue to be derived from it. Already the cost of the custom-house

\* "The last remedy which I would propose is one which I feel persuaded would not only be attended with beneficial results to New Zealand, but also to all the Australian colonies:—it is the doing away with the Customs, and declaring the ports of New Zealand free. The impetus that such a measure as this would give to trade in this and the neighbouring colonies is incalculable. The loss in revenue could easily and equitably be made up by means of a property and income tax, which I doubt not the people would cheerfully pay. The present taxes on imported goods are made to press heavily on the honest trader alone, the facilities for smuggling being so great in a country possessing such fine harbours, and such an extensive coast line as New Zealand, as to require a more efficient Coast Guard than that of England or Ireland for its prevention. To such an extent is smuggling carried on in the article of tobacco alone, that a short time ago it could in this country be bought at 10*d.* per pound, duty paid, or said to be paid, while the duty itself was a shilling."—*New Zealand in 1842, or the Effects of a bad Government on a good Country.* By S. M. D. Martin, M.D., Auckland, New Zealand, 1842.

establishment at Twofold Bay, in New South Wales, exceeds the whole amount of the duties received by it; and there are several suspicious places along the coast that must be vigilantly watched, and defended by a custom-house force, without the least prospect of duties, in the way of a Preventive Service. Such a service, for a coast line of several thousand miles in extent, with numberless bays, creeks, and roadsteads, would be greatly too costly for any country, but especially for a young country to bear.

5. The custom-house system is already interfering materially with the productive industry of the colonies, and promoting extensive demoralization. The cultivation of the vine, for example, is now becoming both extensive and profitable in New South Wales; but it is found, in the process of wine-making, that much of an inferior quality has to be made into brandy, as, for instance, when the grapes happen to be saturated with rain. But the Government derives an import duty on all French brandy imported; and to prevent the diminution of the revenue derivable from this source, which would be a serious matter for a Government with so much unnecessary and expensive machinery to keep up, the colonist is actually prohibited from making brandy for sale from his own vineyard, *lest he should interfere with the importation from France!* So preposterous a system can only have one result—illicit distillation and extensive demoralization.

6. Revenue, arising from indirect taxation, always holds out a strong temptation to unnecessary and extravagant expenditure; and has uniformly been the egg from which the ill-omened bird, War, has been hatched by unjust and dishonest statesmen.

7. The amount of patronage which a custom-house system would throw into the hands of the Executive

would be dangerous to the character, as well as to the stability and permanence, of the national institutions. This is deeply felt already in the United States, and it will be much more so by-and-by.

8. A custom-house system for the Australian provinces would be quite unnecessary; as a revenue of sufficient amount for the support both of the provincial and national governments could be raised by other means, and from other sources, with perfect facility.

9. In the event of the revenue required for the support of Government being raised as at present, through a custom-house, it would be impossible to ensure such a distribution of the public expenditure as to prove satisfactory to all parties. For example, the district of Hunter's River, in New South Wales, contributes very largely to the public revenue, but has hitherto obtained only a very small share of the public expenditure. The case is precisely the same in the district of Portland Bay, in the province of Victoria; and loud complaints from both districts are the necessary consequence. But if there were no indirect taxation, the money raised in each district for public improvements would generally be expended in that district under the eye of those who raised it: they would consequently have no ground of complaint against other districts, and they would doubtless look very carefully after the expenditure of their own money.

10. The absence of such a system would render it comparatively easy to extend the National Government over any number of additional provinces, to be formed, for instance, among the islands of the Western Pacific, which might be the subject of future and progressive *annexation*; but with a Custom-house system of the usual character, such an extension of the area of the National Government would be neither practicable nor desirable.

It is scarcely necessary to indicate the particular sources from which the necessary revenue could be derived for the support of government, both provincial and national, in the event of the abolition of the present Custom-house system throughout the Australian Colonies. Popular Government would, doubtless, very speedily reduce the present enormous expenditure of these colonies, and especially of the colony of Victoria, to not more perhaps than one-fourth of its actual amount, by abolishing numerous unnecessary offices, and by curtailing the emoluments of various others that might be found indispensable; and a property tax, honestly imposed and rigidly enforced thereafter, would ensure a revenue amply sufficient for all purposes, and would be cheerfully submitted to by the people. In the event of such a system being established, each district would thenceforth have to raise the necessary funds for all local improvements, by means of local rates; and the people having thus a direct interest in the matter, would allow no more money to be raised than would be absolutely necessary, and would look sharply after its expenditure. Efficient and cheap government, and the construction of public works of all kinds in all parts of the Territory, would be the necessary result of such a system. Indeed, it is impossible to estimate the impulse which such a system would give to all local improvements, or the peace and harmony and good government that would result from it to the community.

SECTION VII.—CLASSIFICATION OF THE COLONISTS AS TO THEIR PROBABLE VIEWS AND OPINIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF ENTIRE POLITICAL FREEDOM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

It cannot be denied that the extraordinary prosperity of all classes throughout the Australian Colonies since



the Gold discoveries has induced a spirit of apathy and indifference in regard to their political condition, on the part even of many who were predisposed to liberal opinions. Plato\* remarks that "it was a hard thing to make laws for the Cyrenians, a people abounding in plenty and splendour." And absorbed as the Australian Colonists undoubtedly are, almost universally, at present, in those schemes of money-making which the Gold discoveries opened up to them, it is equally hard to induce them to bestow the requisite attention upon their political condition, or to put forth the efforts that are requisite for its amelioration or improvement. Great political reforms usually require for their accomplishment a strong pressure from without, and they are seldom, if ever, effected in a period of general prosperity.

Besides, there is a strong influence exerted in the Australian Colonies for the maintenance "of things as they are," and whole classes of men "live, move and have their being" on the continuance of existing abuses, which they will naturally lend all their weight and influence to maintain and perpetuate. In particular there are four classes of colonists who will oppose the idea of Australian freedom and independence—some with determined hostility, and perhaps also with unmeasured abuse of its friends and advocates, and others with all the *vis inertiae* of their inactive nature; viz 1. The Public Functionaries, and Government Officials, 2nd The Squatters, 3rd The Merchants, 4th Professional Men, of all the three learned professions. I would not indeed include in this implied censure every individual member of all these four classes of colonists: I merely state what I am confident is the general rule for all the

\* In Plutarch.

four, although there are many individual and highly honourable exceptions. Indeed, the exceptions in all these four classes will generally be found the ablest and the most ardent of all the friends of freedom and independence. To take these four classes, therefore, in detail :—

I. *Public functionaries*, of all grades in the Colonies, will doubtless be actuated in this matter by that *esprit de corps* which always leads subordinates of all grades to cry up the party of their employers, whether right or wrong. Many of them also would have an instinctive apprehension that their offices would be abolished or their salaries or emoluments curtailed under a popular system of Government, and would therefore struggle for the maintenance of the existing order of things to the last. Others again, of a higher social grade, who have been concerned in the flagrant iniquity of swindling and robbing the people of their political rights as well as of their money by a so-called Legislature, would naturally anticipate the result of a day of retribution in the event of popular principles obtaining the ascendancy, and would therefore strive to the utmost to perpetuate the present impudent farce of Imperial Government. Such persons will therefore revert to the old and approved practice of accusing the friends of the people, in the event of any movement for freedom and independence, of disaffection, disloyalty, and rebellion; they will denounce them as mere Communists and Socialists, who only wish to have a general division of property and to enrich themselves in the scramble. And in so far as they have influence with the existing Government, they will employ every art of corruption to strengthen their party at whatever sacrifice to the public—vitiating the representation, multiplying offices unnecessarily for their own adherents, and thereby getting as many as

possible to be sharers with them in the plunder of the State.

The strength of this official influence in the Australian Colonies may be estimated from the fact that the Public Expenditure in New South Wales, for the year 1855, for a population of not more than 230,000,<sup>4</sup> will not be less than three-fourths of a million sterling, or upwards of three pounds for each man, woman, and child in the Colony,; while the estimate for a similar population in Victoria, or Port Phillip, is much higher. Now as a large proportion of these amounts is expended in the maintenance of offices that, under an efficient and vigorous government, would be abolished, and in the payment of salaries that are often extravagantly high, it may easily be conceived how very strong the official influence is which will be exerted in defence of *things as they are*.

II. *The Squatters*. The parties who are known by this colonial designation, are large proprietors of sheep and cattle, whose flocks and herds range far and wide over the natural pastures, and to whom the Imperial Government has by Act of Parliament given vast tracts of the Waste Lands of the territory, under long leases, at merely nominal rentals, together with rights of pre-emption against all other colonists; thereby shutting up the country against the industrious man who would either depasture a small flock or herd on his own account or occupy a small tract of available land in a suitable situation as a cultivation farm.

Now it is unquestionable that the Imperial Parliament had no right whatever to pass such an Act.\* It

\* People are apt to imagine that there is something inherently sacred in an Act of Parliament, that it is the emanation of consummate wisdom and the highest expression of national justice,

was in no respect the proprietor of the soil: it was merely a Trustee for the entire population of the Empire, and was only entitled in that capacity to enact such regulations as would ensure equal rights and privileges to all British subjects who might choose to settle in the Australian territory. And as it is equally unquestionable that if the Australian people had the uncontroled management of their own affairs, they would at once set aside this monstrous act of injustice and oppression, it necessarily follows that the Squatters will, equally with the Government Officials, be strenuous supporters of things as they are.

III. *The Merchants.* I should be very sorry to accuse this particular class of colonists of any active opposition to the cause of public freedom: their hostility is rather of the passive kind. It is the *vis inertix* of indifference

and that its natural and legitimate result will therefore be the welfare and advancement of society. Unfortunately, however, the fact is quite otherwise; Acts of Parliament, especially for the Colonies, being not unfrequently concocted by artful individuals for their own selfish purposes, or for those of their own little faction, and passed in entire ignorance of the real state of things for which the Act is provided, to the great injury and loss of the public. The poet Pope, who had evidently very little respect for the inherent wisdom and justice of Acts of Parliament, tells us there were people in *his* time,—and they are equally numerous in our own—

Who make a trust of Charity a job,  
And get an Act of Parliament to rob.

Now I have no hesitation in giving it as my candid opinion that Earl Grey's famous Squatting Act of 1846, which was passed at the instance of a few of the Australian Squatters and their friends in London, in entire ignorance of the real circumstances of the case, and in the absence of the party principally interested, viz. the whole of the Colonial community, was nothing more nor less than *an Act of Parliament to rob* on a large scale in Australia, and ought therefore to be done away with at once and for ever.

and pre-occupation that leads the Colonial merchants almost universally to throw all their weight and influence into the opposite scale, rather than any spirit of actual partisanship arraying them against the people. There is no class in these colonies so completely independent of the Local Government, as the merchants: there is none that has ever exerted itself so little for the cause of public freedom and of the rights of men. Instead of nobly standing forward, as they might have done with powerful effect on many occasions—as for example on that of the passing of the Electoral Act of 1851, by which the City of Sydney was virtually disfranchised, to serve the Government and the Squatters in their joint conspiracy against the people—we find the Colonial merchants uniformly holding back on every occasion of emergency, and giving the Local Government the real and substantial benefit of their silence; nay, we find them mingling on all public occasions among the veriest sycophants of an unprincipled Government, that they may have the distinguished honour, forsooth, of an invitation to Government House, or have their names enrolled in the Commission of the Peace. It was a maxim of the Ancient Greeks that every citizen should take an interest in the affairs of the State, and especially of the particular City to which he belonged, and should devote a regular portion of his time and attention to its concerns.\* But our mercantile classes

\* In a nation in which private existence was subordinate to that of the public, the industry employed in the increase of wealth could not gain the exclusive importance which it has among the moderns. With the ancients the *first* care of the citizen was for the state, the *next* for himself. "As long as there is any higher object than the acquisition of money, the love of self cannot manifest itself so fully as when every other higher object is wanting.—*Hæren's Greece.*

actually pride themselves in taking no concern whatever in the government of the colony in which they are settled, and still less, if possible, in that of the city in which they are amassing their wealth: and the consequence is, that both the city of Sydney, in particular, and the colony of New South Wales, have, for many years past, been miserably governed, in no small degree, through their indifference and neglect. The bad government of the city of Sydney was quite a proverb in New South Wales for years before the Corporation Abolition Act was passed; and who so loud in denouncing it, and in exposing it to ridicule and contempt, as the leading merchants in Sydney, the very men who ought to have stepped forward from the first to offer their services to their fellow citizens, and thereby to ensure its being properly governed, and becoming, as it ought to be, from its geographical position and its splendid harbour, the first city in the Southern Hemisphere? For the people—who have always a keen sense of what is right, and an acute perception of their own interest—will very rarely, if ever, give their votes for an office of importance to their own welfare as citizens, to any questionable character of the humbler classes, in preference to some prominent mercantile man, who is daily rising to opulence and distinction in their city, and manifesting, on every proper occasion, a deep interest in their welfare. In short, if the city of Sydney fell into indifferent hands and was wretchedly governed under its Municipal Corporation, it was the Sydney merchants who were responsible for the fact. Doubtless, certain of the leading merchants of these colonies are merely the agents of great mercantile houses at home, the heads of which might probably take offence, if they were giving their attention in any degree to civic or public affairs. But as the heads of these houses at home never complain of their agents here becoming

Magistrates of the Territory, Bank Directors, Members of Steam-boat Companies, Insurance Companies, Gold-mining and Quartz-crushing Companies, and an infinity of others of the same general description; why should they object to their becoming occasionally Members of a City Council, or of a Provincial Legislature? The fact is, that these gentlemen are too much engrossed with the sordid pursuit of gain, to concern themselves in any way about the welfare and advancement of society in their adopted country, or to participate in those generous and noble feelings that honour and adorn humanity by proclaiming the sympathies of the individual with the common brotherhood of men.\* Idolaters as they are, they worship one god, and one only; but his name is Mammon.† He is the most exacting of all divinities and the most intolerant. His worshippers must serve him day and night, with their bodies and souls; and they must offer their gifts on no altar but his own. Look at the men who have recently amassed large fortunes in the mercantile walks of life in these colonies, particularly of late in Victoria—how few of them are there who have ever even attempted to do any permanent good with their money for their adopted country? How many of them, when they have acquired their supposed competency, pack up, and

\* In colonies accumulation is nearly the only object of the capitalist: the desire to spend, which counteracts it to a certain extent in old countries, scarcely exists.—*Merivale's Lectures on Colonization*, vol. ii. p. 236.

† Mammon led them on;  
 Mammon, the least erected spirit that fell  
 From heaven; for even in heaven his looks and thoughts  
 Were always downward bent, admiring more  
 The riches of heaven's pavement, trodden gold,  
 Than aught, divine or holy, else enjoyed  
 In vision beatific.

*Milton's Paradise Lost, book .*

are off with the first ship to England, to make a show with the spoil, without ever supposing that they owe anything to the country that has enriched them, or in which God has given them power to get wealth? The association of any such idea as that of patriotism with the mercantile classes of these colonies is therefore absurd. They have no such feeling, and the country may sink or swim for all they care for it. In one word, as Lord Byron told the Modern Greeks, in one of his noble odes, when they were struggling for their freedom and independence with the Turks,

Trust not for freedom to the Franks :  
 They have a king who buys and sells.  
 In native swords and native ranks,  
 The only hope of courage dwells :

so would I say to the people of Australia, "Trust not for your freedom and independence to the colonial merchants. They will buy you and sell you again to the Government for half a per cent; but they will never assist you in achieving your freedom and independence."\*

\* The following extract, from a work of fiction by a talented divine, unquestionably embodies a universal but somewhat discreditable truth in regard to the class to which it alludes. It is particularly recommended to the perusal of the Sydney and Melbourne merchants.

"The merchants, who are the princes of the place, perceiving their traffic to decline or cease, begin to interest themselves in the affairs of the State. So long as wealth flowed in as ever, and the traders from India and Persia saw no obstruction in the state of things to a safe transaction of their various businesses and transportation of their valuable commodities, the merchants left the State to take care of itself; and whatever opinions they held, expressed them only in their own circles, thinking but of accumulation by day, and of ostentatious expenditure by night. I have often heard that their general voice, had it been raised, would have been hostile to the policy that has prevailed. But it was not



IV. *Professional Men.*—These consist of clergymen, medical men and lawyers; and it may be taken as a general rule, which of course admits of individual exceptions, that all the three classes will be found pre-disposed against the cause of popular freedom and the rights of men. There are doubtless noble exceptions among all these classes, just as there are among public functionaries, squatters and merchants; but the general rule is, unquestionably, as I have stated it.

As for the clergy—there is certainly no book in existence that so strongly advocates the cause of popular freedom and the rights of men as the Bible. There is no book that so uniformly and so indignantly denounces injustice and oppression in every form and degree.\*

raised; and now, when too late, and these mercenary and selfish beings are driven to some action by the loss of their accustomed gains, a large and violent party is forming among them, who loudly condemn the conduct of the queen and her ministers, and advocate immediate submission to whatever terms Aurelian may impose. This party, however powerful it may be through wealth, is weak in numbers. The people are opposed to them, and go enthusiastically with the queen, and do not scruple to exult in the distresses of the merchants. Their present impotence is but a just retribution upon them for their criminal apathy during the early stages of the difficulty. *Then* had they taken a part, as they ought to have done, in the public deliberations, the rupture which has ensued might, it is quite likely, have been prevented. Their voice would have been a loud and strong one, and would have been heard. They deserve to lose their liberties who will not spare time from selfish pursuits to guard them. Where a Government is popular even to no greater extent than this, it behoves every individual, if he values the power delegated to him, and would retain it, to use it, otherwise it is by degrees and insensibly lost; and once absorbed into the hands of the few, it is not easy, if at all, to be recovered.—*Zenobia, or The Fall of Palmyra.* By the Rev. Wm. Hare.

\* Witness the following denunciation of the Prophet Jeremiah against the reigning king of Judah: Jeremiah xxii. 13—19. "Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and

Neither is there any other religion professed among mankind so thoroughly pervaded with a spirit of down-right liberalism as Christianity.\* And yet—so it is! —the clergy of all communions, especially if supported by the State, are almost uniformly on the side of wealth, and rank, and power, and real, although perhaps disguised, injustice and oppression.† They cannot understand what the Bible means when it bids them “Honour all men,” and of course to give all, without exception, their political rights and privileges. And, oh, how they hate universal suffrage, and vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, popular election and the rights of men! The Divine Author of Christianity was hated and persecuted to the death by *the Pharisees*

his chambers by wrong; *that* useth his neighbour's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work; That saith, I will build me a wide house and large chambers, and cutteth him out windows; and *it is* cieled with cedar, and painted with vermilion. Shalt thou reign, because thou closest *thyself* in cedar? did not thy father eat and drink, and do judgment and justice, *and* then *it was* well with him? He judged the cause of the poor and needy; then *it was* well *with him*: *was* not this to know me? saith the LORD. But thine eyes and thine heart *are* not but for thy covetousness, and for to shed innocent blood, and for oppression, and for violence, to do it. Therefore thus saith the LORD concerning Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah; They shall not lament for him, *saying*, Ah my brother! or, Ah sister! they shall not lament for him, *saying*, Ah lord! or, Ah his glory! He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem.” And yet this man had done very little more than has been done in a thousand instances in all these colonies for many years past—robbing the hireling of his wages through extortion and injustice.

\* “The Gospel is democratic,” says Lamartine; “Christianity is republican.”—*History of the Girondists*, vol. ii. p. 179.

† Le clergé, dit le député de Francfort, se moque du bien public, et ne recherche que son intérêt propre.—*Merle D'Aubigné. Hist. de la Reform.*, vol. iv. p. 9.

*and the rulers* of his time, because he denounced them, and unveiled their hollow-heartedness and hypocrisy to the world; but "the common people heard him gladly," because he was their Friend and Advocate. And the rulers and the rich Pharisees of our own time have still their numerous and obsequious priesthood of all communions; while the clerical friends and advocates of the common people are still few and far between.\*

Medical men are often very charitable to the poor, and doubtless deserve highly of the community on this account; but they generally give their political consciences into the keeping of the rich and the powerful, and they usually think and act with them and against the people on all public questions of importance.

And as for the lawyers, they are so accustomed to give their tongues to any cause and their hearts to none, that it is the rarest thing imaginable to find them thoroughly engaged in any way on behalf of the people. Besides, there are so many comfortable posts for lawyers, under our glorious Constitution, both at home and abroad, that we generally find them advocating *things as they are*. "Judge, Sir, of my surprise," says Mr. Burke, in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, "when I found that a very great proportion of the Assembly (a majority, I believe, of the members who attended,) was composed of practitioners in the law." Mr. Burke was evidently of opinion that the liberties of the people were by no means in the safest keeping when in the hands of the lawyers.

- \* O! if my sons may learn one earthly thing,  
Teach but that one sufficient for a king;  
That which *my priests*, and *mine alone*, maintain,  
Which, as it dies, or lives, we fall, or reign:  
May you, my CAM, and ISIS, preach it long!  
"The RIGHT DIVINE of kings to govern wrong."

*Pope's Dunciad.*

As a counterpoise, however, to this phalanx of public functionaries, squatters, merchants, and professional men, with their anti-popular instincts and predilections, there are, on the other hand, the numerous class of colonial shopkeepers, general traders and employés; the mechanics and labourers of all descriptions; the small farmers, or cultivators of the soil; and last, but not least in Australia, the miners—whether they are mining for gold, for copper, or for coal. The enemies of popular freedom—the advocates for things as they are—count only by units, tens, hundreds; but these advocates for things as they should be, who would rejoice in the advent of entire political freedom and national independence for their adopted country, count by thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands!

In one word, the colonial child,—erewhile so rickety in his constitution, and so stunted in his growth, from the strange mixtures with which his fond mother beyond seas was perpetually dosing him, under the old system of colonial *regime*—has at length, in the estimation of the whole civilized world, attained the form and stature of a man, and now stands forth before the nations in vigorous manhood and in robustest health. Is it not right, therefore, that he should be loosed from his mother's apron-strings, to which he was attached for a time by the ties of nature, during the helplessness of his childhood? Is it not right that his majority should be forthwith proclaimed, and universally acknowledged? "He is of age"—as the parents of the man who was born blind said of their son to the Jewish rulers;—"He is of age; ask himself." Yes! Put it to the vote of the Australian people themselves, and let the majority decide.

## SECTION VIII.—WHERE IS THE INITIATIVE LIKELY TO BE TAKEN?

There is a remarkable peculiarity in the constitution of society in the Australian colonies, which is likely at some time or other to have much influence in determining their future condition, but which has hitherto been seldom, if ever, adverted to—I mean the disproportionate size of their respective capitals, as compared with the whole extent and population of the different colonies. The inhabitants of the city of Sydney, for example, comprise at least one-fourth of the whole population of New South Wales; and those of Melbourne bear the same proportion to the whole population of Victoria. Now there is no instance of a similar disproportion, in so far as, my own researches extend, either in ancient or modern history. When Nehemiah, the governor of Judaea, under the Persian monarchs, went up to Jerusalem and found the city in a state of extreme desolation, he published an ordinance, requiring the rural population throughout the country to furnish one-tenth of their whole number for the permanent occupation and defence of the capital. It would seem, therefore, that in the opinion of that patriot governor, the proper proportion which the inhabitants of the capital of a country should bear to its entire population was one-tenth—a proportion which, it is worthy of remark, is considerably higher than that which the population of London, the largest capital in Europe, bears to the whole population of the United Kingdom. The following is a view of the proportion of the inhabitants in the different capitals of Europe as compared with that of their respective States, according to the Census and Estimates of 1851.

States.	Population.	Capitals.	Population.	Ratio. or one in
Great Britain & Ireland	27,019,578	London	1,873,676	14
France	35,400,486	Paris	900,000	39
Austria	37,662,486	Vienna	350,000	169
Austria, in Germany	12,006,000	Berlin	290,000	34
Prussia	62,257,700	Petersburg	500,000	51
Russia	12,200,000	Constantinople	600,000	124
Turkey, in Europe	13,000,000	Madrid	220,000	20
Spain	3,412,500	Lisbon	270,000	59
Portugal	4,337,196	Brussels	120,000	12
Belgium	3,414,374	Amsterdam	220,000	56
Holland	2,000,000	Copenhagen	120,000	15
Denmark	3,100,000	Stockholm	80,000	16
Sweden	1,200,000	Christiania	23,000	38
Norway	8,000,000	Naples	360,000	52
Naples	2,250,000	Rome	150,000	22
Papal States	4,001,132	Turin	120,000	16
Sardinia	4,440,327	Manich	100,000	33
Bavaria	1,758,800	Dresden	80,000	44
Saxony	1,800,000	Hanover	30,000	21
Hanover	1,700,000	Stuttgart	38,000	60
Wirttemberg	900,000	Athens	20,000	44
Greece	200,000	Corfu	17,000	45
Ionian Islands	2,372,920	Berne	23,000	12
Switzerland		Geneva	25,000	49

It thus appears, that while the inhabitants of the cities of Sydney and Melbourne are respectively one in four of the whole population of New South Wales and Victoria, the highest proportion which the inhabitants of any European capital bear to the whole population of the State or Kingdom to which it belongs is only one in twelve, as in Portugal and the Ionian Islands, and that the proportion in the United Kingdom is not

more than one in fourteen, while in France it is only one in thirty-nine. The population of the chief cities of the old American colonies appears to have borne a still smaller proportion to that of the respective colonies than that of the European capitals to their respective States. "The population of these [American] colonies" [at the Revolution], says the *Edinburgh Review*, "was less than 3,000,000; and their chief sea-ports, Boston, Newport, New York and Philadelphia, contained each from ten to twenty thousand inhabitants."\*

"Towns increased so slowly," says Mr. Merivale, "that the largest in British America, Boston, had not more than 25,000 inhabitants when the revolutionary war broke out, 150 years after its foundation."† The same author makes a similar remark in regard to the chief cities of the present colonies of British America. "The cities are small, each having a slender neighbourhood to support it; in fact, there are but three places deserving the name—Quebec, Montreal and Halifax—in all British America."‡

In remarking that an opposite tendency—to a comparatively small extent however,—was exhibited in the Spanish colonies, Mr. Merivale attempts to assign its cause, as follows:—"It was this oligarchical character of society, together with the system of restrictions under which they lived, which produced the habit of the Spanish Creoles, especially in the mining districts, to congregate in cities, *contrary to what has been already observed of the general spirit of modern colonists.* \* \* \* In this way the government may be said to have collected the people together artificially in towns."§

\* *Edinb. Rev.*, July, 1853. *Popular Education in the United States.*

† Merivale, vol. i. p. 92.

‡ Merivale, vol. i. p. 106.

§ *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies.* By Herman Merivale, A.M., vol. i. p. 6.

It will doubtless be alleged, that the amazing disproportion of the population of Sydney and Melbourne, as compared with that of the entire colonies of New South Wales and Victoria, has been owing entirely to the gold discovery, and to the extraordinary influx of population, which ensued upon that extraordinary event, into the chief cities of Australia. But this is by no means the fact, for the proportions I have given above are derived from the Census of 1851, which was taken in the month of March of that year, before the gold discovery was announced in either colony.\* Prior to that extraordinary event, upwards of one-fourth of the inhabitants of each of these colonies respectively were cooped up in the colonial capital; which accordingly bore some resemblance to the strange animal in Van Dieman's Land, called "the devil"—being all head and no body.

To what then is this extraordinary state of things, for which there seems to have been no precedent in the whole civilized world, either ancient or modern, to be ascribed? Why, to bad government exclusively—government from Downing Street. This has been the whole and sole cause of the singular, the unprecedented, anomaly.

Had the people of these colonies been left to themselves, like the colonies of Ancient Greece,—had they been left to the guidance and direction of such enlightened and patriotic men as they could easily have found among themselves, the population would have spread itself over the country with great rapidity, and

\* The population of Sydney and its suburbs was at that time 53,924, while that of the whole Colony of New South Wales was 187,243. The ratio in Port Phillip was precisely similar; Sydney and Melbourne containing respectively upwards of one-fourth of the entire population.



improvement would have gone on at a prodigious rate, all over the territory. Forests would have been cleared away, land cultivated, and towns and villages planted in all directions; while the productions, and the wealth and general prosperity, of the country, would have increased beyond all present conception. But, in consequence of a whole series of measures, particularly in regard to the disposal of the public lands of the colonies—measures which I have no hesitation in saying were worthy of the inmates of a Lunatic Asylum—the population has been prevented all along from spreading itself as it otherwise would have done, for its own great benefit, as well as for that of the colonies. And here we are, therefore, packed up in Sydney and Melbourne, in bodies of from seventy to eighty thousand each, like herrings in a barrel—elbowing each other in all directions; standing in each other's way; half of us doing little or nothing for the welfare and advancement of the country, and not a few of the other half merely helping them! To speak seriously, it is truly lamentable to think of the number of reputable and industrious families, who have been absolutely lost to society in this way, and been gradually absorbed in the population of these overgrown capitals—these immense wens on the body politic, as the late William Cobbett used, with much less propriety, to designate the city of London—to be employed in some petty huckstering concern in Sydney or Melbourne, who might, under a different system, have been dispersed over the whole face of the country, breathing its free air, raising the products peculiar to its soil and climate, rearing their delightful cottages along every navigable river or great road in the country, and forming everywhere that “bold yeomanry” who are “their country's pride.” But it is one of the beautiful arrangements of Divine

Providence that all great evils, in the political as well as in the physical world, contain the germs of their own remedy or cure. And it is remarkably so in the present instance. The cities of Sydney and Melbourne are now a great deal too large and too powerful to be controuled any longer by the powers that have so unwisely called them forth from political non-entity into such anomalous and formidable existence. The spirit, so long imprisoned, has got fairly out of the bottle at last, and already defies the conjurer. The people of these capitals have put away their childish things, and are now children no longer, but bearded men; and as sure as they are so, they will, ere long, bring this intolerable farce to a conclusion, and write *Exeunt omnes* for the whole corps of its *Dramatis personae*, to make way for abler and honester men.

In one word, if Paris is France, with less than one million of inhabitants to the whole thirty-five millions of the French empire, *a fortiori*, Sydney is New South Wales, and Melbourne is Victoria; as these cities have each not less than a fourth part of the whole population of the country within their bounds. In such circumstances, they must, of necessity, take the initiative in fixing the future political condition of the country, whether that condition is to be one of inglorious servitude or of manly freedom and national independence.\* It is in these capitals respectively that the blow must be struck, if ever—that the battle of freedom and independence must be fought and won.

“In extreme danger,” says M. Lamartine, “proximity constitutes a right. It belongs to that party of

\* C'est de la Metropole qui partent toutes les impulsions qui ebranlent le peuple.—*Merle D'Aubigné. Histoire de la Réformation*, Tome iii. p. 471.

the people most approximated to public danger, first to provide against it. In such a case, the reach of the arm is the measure of power. A town then exercises the dictatorship of its position, relying upon ratification afterwards. Paris had exercised it several times before and after 1789. France did not reproach her either for the 11th of July, the Tennis Court, or even for the 10th of August, when Paris had acquired for her, without consulting or waiting her, the Revolution, and the republic.

Besides, whatever may be the theories of abstract equality amongst the towns of an empire, these theories unfortunately yield to fact under exceptional circumstances; and that fact possesses its own right, for it is justified by its necessity. Without doubt those cities which are the seats of government are but members of the national body; but this member is the head. The capital of a nation exercises over its members an initiative power, that of leading and resolving, connected with the most energetic feelings, of which the head is the seat, in a nation as well as in an individual. Strict polemics may with reason contest this right: history cannot deny it."\*


SECTION IX.—THE PROBABLE RESULTS OF AUSTRALIAN FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE.

"I anticipate with others," observed Lord John Russell, on the second reading of the Australian Constitution Bill of 1850, "that some of our colonies may so grow in wealth and population that they may feel themselves strong enough to maintain their own independence in amity and alliance with Great Britain. I

\* Lamartine. *History of the Girondists*, vol. iii. p. 38, 39.

do not think that that time is yet approaching. But let us make them, as fast as possible, fit to govern themselves. Let us give them, as far as we can, the capacity of ruling their own affairs. Let them increase in wealth and population; and, whatever may happen, we of this great empire will have the consolation of saying that we have increased the happiness of the world."

Through the unexpected discovery of gold in Australia, a change, which no mortal could anticipate at the time, has passed upon the Australian Colonies since these memorable words were spoken by Lord John Russell six years ago; and the consummation to which they point, and which was then regarded merely as a remote contingency, is now a universally admitted and impending reality. But although the cities of Sydney and Melbourne,—those enormous wens on the body politic of these colonies, to which there is nothing similar either in the old world or in the new,—may be constrained to take the initiative in some way or other in bringing about that consummation, the kindly feeling which these words exhibit clearly shews that there will be no necessity for appealing in the case to physical force. By that wonderful event, which has taken the whole civilized world by surprise, the Australian Colonies have been virtually wrenched out of the hands of the Imperial Government, just as a boat is wrenched out of the hands of a rower in the rapids of an impetuous river; and they are now swept along by the current towards freedom and independence, with a velocity of motion which the Imperial Government may doubtless direct for the accomplishment of the highest national objects, but which it is utterly powerless either to stem or to check. During the interval that has elapsed since Lord John Russell addressed to the House of Commons the words I have quoted, the Australian Colonies have



virtually lived half a century; and can any reasonable man suppose that they will not feel the new life that is in them, and exhibit all the usual evidences of national vitality? The New Constitution that has recently been granted them will only be a stepping-stone to their freedom and independence.

Besides, the spirit of national freedom and independence is one of the most generous and disinterested, as well as one of the loftiest and most ennobling passions of human nature; and when it once animates a people, they become capable of deeds, and sacrifices, and exertions, of which they could never have supposed themselves capable before. This spirit, moreover, is highly contagious; and it has only to take possession of some master-mind to communicate itself to the whole mass of the people.

“There are conjunctures,” says the Abbé Millot, “in which the destiny of a people,” as possessing a distinct nationality, “depends upon a single head:”\* and there can now be no doubt whatever that, in the natural progress of events, some such head will soon appear to give a distinct nationality to the British Colonists of Eastern Australia.

The fatal consequences that resulted from the scornful neglect of the truly wise and patriotic counsel of Dean Tucker, eighty years ago, should read a solemn lesson to the men of the present generation; but as another Dean very justly observes, “No wonder if men will not take advice, when they will not even take warning.”†

Supposing then that Australian freedom and independence were “an accomplished fact,” and that the

\* Il est des circonstances où la destinée des peuples dépend d'une seule tête.—*Millot*.

† Dean Swift.

five colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Van Dieman's Land and Moreton Bay, were all firmly united under a Federal Government, having its head quarters alternately at Sydney and Melbourne, what are the results to be anticipated from so mighty a change in the form of our existence ?

I. In the first place, "*a nation would be born in one day*;" and while the whole civilized world would doubtless rejoice at the birth, the transition would infuse new life, with a vigour and energy unimagined before, into our whole social and political system. The change would work like magic in every direction, and would forthwith shew itself in an endless variety of ways. The boy would at once feel himself a man, and the young Samson would give early presage of the feats of strength and daring he is destined to exhibit on the great arena of national life.

Witness the wonderful enthusiasm of the whole French people, shortly after the proclamation of their First Republic in the year 1792, when their country was invaded by the Austrians, as described in the following glowing language of Lamartine.

"Men of every condition, of every fortune, of every age, presented themselves in crowds, in order to form the battalions which each department sent to the frontiers. \* \* Enthusiasm enrolled them, goodwill disciplined them, patriotic donations clothed, armed, paid, and maintained these children of the country.

"These volunteers received a route-sheet to assemble at the depôt designated by the minister of war, there to receive equipment, instruction and organisation. They marched off in groups, more or less numerous, to the sound of the drum, to the strains of the patriotic hymn, accompanied, to a great distance from their towns or their villages, by mothers, brothers, sisters,

and sweethearts, who carried their knapsacks and arms, and who only separated from them when fatigue had overcome not their affection, but their powers.

“The inhabitants of the towns and boroughs which they traversed came out to see them pass, and to offer them bread and wine at the threshold of their houses. Disputes arose in these billeting places, as to who should lodge them as their own children. Patriotic societies went to meet them, or to invite them to assist in the evening at their meetings. The president addressed them, the orators of the club fraternized with them, and enflamed their courage by the recital of military exploits, gathered from ancient history. They taught them the hymns of the two Tyrtæi of the Revolution,—the poets Lebrun and Chenier. They made them drunk with the holy ardour of country, of fanaticism and of liberty.

“Such were the elements of the army, which marched in every direction from the centre towards the frontiers. *Dumouriez organized it while marching.*”\*

“A vast population, influenced by a high degree of excitement,” says the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, “is the most sublime of spectacles.”†

And such a spectacle would doubtless be exhibited in Australia, as well as in France, if her national independence were once achieved.

“Hark!” says the eminent writer, last quoted, who has evidently studied human nature, and the history of mankind, to some purpose; “Hark! the people cheer! I love the people—who are ever influenced by genuine and generous feelings. They cheer *as if they had once more gained a country.*”‡

\* Lamartine. *History of the Girondists*, vol. ii. p. 393, 395.

† *Alroy*, by D'Israeli.

‡ *Iskander*, by D'Israeli.

II. *A befitting career would at once be thrown open to master-minds in every department, and to honourable ambition in every form.* Let it be borne in mind, that the five colonies enumerated above are much larger than the same number of American States; nay, than the whole thirteen colonies that declared their independence in the year 1776: New South Wales and the Moreton Bay country being each much larger than France; § Port Phillip or Victoria being larger than Great Britain, and Van Dieman's land nearly as large as Ireland.

Besides, those who could establish for themselves a high provincial reputation in any one of the provinces, would have a still higher and wider field opened up to them in the general or National Government. The Australian Parliament would be opened to them, as senators, and members of the House of Representatives; and the highest offices of the country, including those of President and Vice-President, together with embassies to foreign states, would be within their reach. In short, the maxim of the late Emperor of France, *La carrière ouverte aux talens*, or, as it is quaintly translated by Carlyle, *The tools for those who can handle them*, would be fully realized in Australia; and the emigration of persons of the higher classes, from the mother-country, including all the liberal professions, would be great beyond all former precedent.

It has hitherto been a prodigious error in the colonial system of Great Britain, that it has held forth no suitable career in the colonies for persons of these classes in the mother-country; who have consequently been left to overstock every profession, every branch of business above the condition of mere manual labour, so

§ South Australia is of similar dimensions, but by far the greater part of its territory is a mere desert.



that, to use the felicitous expression of Mr. Wakefield, there is a *universal want of room* throughout the United Kingdom for all grades and phases of British gentility. It is from the numerous disappointed persons of these educated classes, that the humbler forms of dissatisfaction and disaffection usually obtain their leadership and their organization; and the consequent danger to society only becomes the greater, the longer the evil is allowed to exist, and the more numerous these classes become. Under the Grecian system of colonization, such unquiet spirits were from time to time drafted off, and disposed of in the colonies; where they became leaders of the people, and realized those offices, and honours, and distinctions, from which they were virtually precluded at home. And so would it be under the system I propose. Hundreds and thousands of the disappointed, unquiet, and restless spirits that are always floating about on the surface of society at home — *cupidissimi novarum rerum* — would betake themselves to the United Provinces of Australia; where a new and highly promising field would be opened up to them — *a fair field and no favour*. The value of such an outlet to Great Britain, and its importance, in regard to the future stability of her institutions, are incalculable.

Even for the actual colonists, the change in this respect would be one of prodigious importance. Hitherto every respectable office, in connection with the different colonial governments, has been hopelessly shut against the sons of the soil, as well as against British emigrants, also, of whatever ability or talent, if without interest or connections at home. Indeed, the possession of superior ability of any kind has usually been a complete bar to admission into any office connected with Government in the colonies; as it

served to cast a sort of invidious reflection upon the dull mediocrity around it.

Besides, the young Australians have generally but little chance of rising in the world as merchants, as they can have no *English connections*; and if they dislike going into the interior, to keep sheep and cattle, and are above taking a butcher's shop, or applying for a publican's licence, the only resource for them is to enter a solicitor's office—a branch of business which is consequently pretty well stocked already in the older colonies. No wonder, therefore, that the respectable classes in these colonies, especially those who have sons, should intensely desire a thorough and entire change in our colonial relations. No wonder that the young Australians, whose attachment to their native land is intense, and whose opinion of its superiority to all others is universal, should already be learning and entering into the spirit of this Australian lay:—

“Sons of the soil, the die is cast!

And our brothers are nailing their flag to the mast:

And their shout on the land, and their voice on the sea,

Is, *The land of our birth is a land of the Free!*”

Writers on the colonies generally reproach them, and perhaps not undeservedly, with their inordinate love of money, as the characteristic and exclusive passion of all classes of their inhabitants. “Unfortunately,” says Mr. Wakefield, “the ruling passion of individuals in our colonies is love of getting money.”\* But it is scarcely fair for our fellow-countrymen at home to reproach colonists generally with their money-making propensities, when they have hitherto closed every door of honourable ambition against us otherwise, through the bad system of government they have forced upon

\* *A View of the Art of Colonisation, &c.*, p. 101.

us, in the gratification of their own *lust* of empire. They mete out to the colonies precisely the same measure of injustice as they do to the Jews, whom they ridicule and decry for their money-making propensities, after they have shut up every other respectable and honourable walk of life against them. But let ability and desert of every kind have a fair field opened up for them—let the colonists know and feel that they *have* a country to labour for, and not a mere *Downing Street preserve for pitiful incapacity*—and the same generous and manly feelings will forthwith be developed, over the whole face of Australian society, as have uniformly characterized the birth of freedom and independence in every land.

III. *A wonderful impulse would be given to the emigration of the humbler and working classes of the United Kingdom to Australia.* Australia, from its greatly superior climate and the better prospects it holds forth to emigrants generally, as well as from the more congenial character and origin of its actual population, would thenceforth take the place of the United States; which, chiefly, if not exclusively, from their freer government, have hitherto monopolised by far the largest portion of British emigration. There are districts in the mother-country from which a National Government in Australia could, with the utmost facility, attract to this country a large emigration of the most valuable description.

For example, the county of Down, in the province of Ulster, in the North of Ireland, contains an area of 514,180 acres; which, according to a letter, published in the *London Morning Chronicle*, of the 29th of November, 1847, by W. Sharman Crawford, Esq., M.P., is occupied as follows, viz. :—

In farms of from 1 to 5 acres—in all 13,753 farms.  
do. 5 to 15 acres—in all 11,991 do.  
do. 15 to 30 acres—in all 3,865 do.  
do. above 30 acres—in all 1,508 do.

Now, as the county of Down affords fair representation of the system which obtains generally in regard to the subdivision of land in the North of Ireland, it must be evident that that system has been allowed to proceed to an extent which is altogether incompatible with the permanent prosperity of the country, or the general advancement of its inhabitants. There is nothing similar to this minute subdivision of land in any part of Scotland. It may be possible, indeed, to extract a bare subsistence from such fragmentary farms as the greater number in this list, but it is utterly impossible that the general population of the province of Ulster can be maintained in a condition of comfort and comparative independence, such as is absolutely necessary for the general welfare and advancement, in connexion with such a minute subdivision of the land.

Emigration from all such localities in the United Kingdom would be a public benefit at home; while it could not fail to prove equally beneficial to the particular Australian province to which it should be directed. For, as it is well observed, by the late President Jackson, of the United States, "The wealth and strength of a country are its population, and the best part of that population are the cultivators of the soil."\*

Under such efficient machinery, as it would be quite practicable for the National Government to create, there would very soon be a vast amount of emigration of the very best description from the United Kingdom to the Australian provinces; and a large portion of the mighty

\* President Jackson's Message to Congress, Dec. 1832.

stream of population, that is now annually directed to the United States, would forthwith be diverted to Australia. I need scarcely add that Great Britain would derive material benefit from such a change of direction, in the stream of emigration setting out from her shores, as well as Australia, from the much better market which the same amount of population in the latter country affords for her produce and manufactures.\*

IV. *All the other legitimate objects of Colonization would be realized to an indefinite extent.* When the first of the four legitimate objects of colonization has been secured in any instance by a colonizing country, in providing an eligible outlet for its redundant population, all the other three legitimate objects of colonization will also be attained in a greater or lesser degree,

\* There is nothing more remarkable than the extreme ignorance that prevailed even among men of the highest intelligence otherwise, about the middle of last century, on the subject of emigration. They deprecated it as a national calamity; and one of Dean Tucker's arguments, in favour of a peaceful separation of Great Britain and her American colonies was the hope he entertained that emigration to America would thereby cease!

"Granting," he observes, "that emigrations are bad things in all respects—granting that they tend to diminish the number of your sailors, as well as of your manufacturers, yet how can you prevent this evil? And what remedy do you propose for curing the people of that madness which has seized them for emigration? I answer: Even the remedy which hath been so often, and all along proposed, *A Total Separation from North America*. For most certain it is that, as soon as such a separation shall take place, a residence in the colonies will be no longer a desirable situation. Nay, it is much more probable that many of those who are already settled there, will wish to fly away, than that others should covet to go to them. \* \* \* Under such circumstances, there is no reason to fear that many of our people will flock to North America."—Dean Tucker's *Humble Address, recommending Separation from America*, p. 68. Gloucester.

according to the capabilities of the country colonised, the variety and value of its productions, and the industry and energy of its inhabitants: in other words, a market of a constantly improving character will be created for the purchase and consumption of the manufactured goods of the mother-country; a field of, perhaps, boundless extent will be opened up for the growth of the raw produce required in those manufactures, as well as of other valuable goods and produce, and the trade of the mother-country will in the mean time be progressively and indefinitely extended.

I have already noticed the impulse which the attainment of freedom and independence would give to emigration to Australia; but as the actual inhabitants of that country consume annually British goods and manufactures to the extent of about £7 10s. per head of the entire population, it follows as a necessary consequence that a greatly increased emigration to that country will give a greatly increased impulse to the manufacturing industry of the mother-country, and afford more extensive employment, and a higher rate of remuneration to the manufacturer and the operative—it will make trade brisker and will stimulate manufactures.

The way in which the colonists are enabled to consume this large amount of British manufactured goods is by raising raw produce in the colonies, to be given in exchange for these goods, and to be worked up in the manufactures of the mother-country or to be otherwise consumed. Thus the vessel in which I am now writing is conveying to England a cargo of Australian produce which, it is expected, will be worth in the London market, about £124,000; consisting of wool, tallow, hides, horns and hoofs, preserved meat, timber, wine, and gold. Now all this variety of valuable produce is to pay for British goods that have either been sent out

already or are yet to be sent out in return. And if the number of inhabitants of Australia were only increased twenty-fold, as they would doubtless be shortly, if the country attained its freedom and independence, the variety and value of these productions would only be proportionally increased.

Now it is in this mutual interchange of products and good offices, and not in any domination that Great Britain exercises over us, that the real value of the Australian colonies to the mother-country consists; and whatever would promote and augment this interchange (as the freedom and independence of these colonies would unquestionably do to an indefinite extent) would only render Australia the more valuable to Great Britain, whether dependent or not.

Of what possible benefit, for instance, can it be to the people of England, that we, the people of Australia,—the growers of wool for the manufactures of Leeds, and the diggers of gold for the Bank of England,—should have some rotten limb of the British aristocracy, a man perhaps, like a late apology for a ruler, without either head or heart, to rule over us, instead of a man of our own choice, such as the urgent necessities of the colonies demand in the present emergency? And of what benefit can it be to us, the wool-growers and gold-diggers of Australia, to have the worst possible example set us, as was recently the case, in the sacred name of Her Majesty the Queen, and to be obliged to pay for it too at the rate of £7000 a-year—besides pickings? This unreasonable amount we are compelled to pay by Act of Parliament—an Act founded on precisely the same sort of right as that which is implied in the well-known formula of the highway “Stand and deliver!”\* For I

\* Parliament takes the money of the colonies and applies it to purposes they do not sanction, without giving them in exchange

challenge all and sundry to show, if they can, on what other right such an Act can be based than the right of might, the right of force, the right of usurpation. If we colonists have a right to anything—our own eyes and ears for instance—we have a right to our own money; and no power or Parliament on earth can have a right to touch or appropriate that money without our permission. The best paid Governor in America, the Governor of the State of Louisiana, with a far larger population to govern than that of New South Wales, has a salary of only £1500 a-year. Now the very best man in Australia could be got—if not for that amount, at least for twice that amount, and would be proud of the honour and distinction, if we had only the power to choose him; and the difference in the mere amount of his income, as compared with the present imposition, would enable us to give salaries of £100 a-year to forty additional schoolmasters in the thinly peopled districts of the interior! It is these enormities that are fastened on us by Acts of Parliament and Rescripts from Downing Street, that keep us down as colonists, and prevent us from being half so valuable to the mother-country as we should otherwise be. It is these acts of unrighteous domination that compel us to leave our youth in the far interior uneducated, our roads and bridges un-repaired, and the wants of our people in a hundred different ways unattended to and unsupplied.

There are three articles of agricultural produce, admirably adapted to the climate and soil of Australia, and for which there is a constant demand at a remun-

any consideration whatever. It is scarcely worth while to argue whether this be in violation of the Declaratory Act of 1778. It is certainly a violation of natural justice, and will be submitted to so long as it is impossible to resist it successfully; but not one moment longer.—*Times*, July 30, 1850.



nerating price to the agriculturist in the British market, of which the production would be increased to an unlimited extent, in the event of the Australian colonies attaining their freedom and independence; while the production of these articles for the home market would increase the trade and wealth both of the mother-country and of Australia to a degree scarcely conceivable.

The first of these articles of Australian produce is wine. The cultivation of the vine is now pursued as a branch of colonial industry to a considerable extent; and in those parts of the country that are of trap formation, as in the district of Hunter's River, in the colony of New South Wales, the produce is so remarkably abundant that my brother, Mr. Andrew Lang, J.P., of Dunmore, Hunter's River, has actually had 1800 gallons of wine, and a ton of fruit besides, from a single acre of vines. The wine of Australia is a light wine, like those of the Rhine or the South of France; and under the judicious superintendence and stimulus of colonial associations for the cultivation of the vine, it is improving in its character as well as increasing in its quantity every year. There is no extent to which this branch of cultivation might not be carried for exportation to the home market, with a large population in New South Wales.

Another article of Australian produce for which the soil and climate are admirably adapted is tobacco. The plant is indigenous in New South Wales, and its produce is beyond all comparison greater than in the United States; for while the usual produce of an acre of tobacco in the new State of Texas, in precisely the same latitude, but in the opposite hemisphere, is usually 700 lbs., a ton to the acre is not an uncommon crop in New South Wales. This article is grown exclusively

by slave labour, both in the United States and in the other foreign countries from which it is at present imported into Great Britain ; but in free and independent Australia it would be grown to an unlimited extent by a people of British origin exclusively, and entirely free.

The third article of agricultural produce for which the soil and climate of Australia are admirably adapted is cotton. It has now been satisfactorily ascertained, chiefly through experiments originated by myself, that this article of indispensable necessity for the manufactures of Great Britain, for the supply of which the United Kingdom is almost entirely dependent on the United States, can be grown to any conceivable extent, by means of European labour, along 500 miles of the Australian coast to the northward of Sydney; and as water-carriage is available along this whole line of coast, the facilities for its production are extraordinary, while the climate is in the highest degree salubrious. There is room enough, indeed, on that coast alone, and a highly eligible field besides, for the employment of agricultural labour in the production of this article of unlimited demand in the mother-country, for the whole redundant population of Great Britain for half a century to come; and as this commodity is grown by means of slave-labour in America, there is reason to believe that it could be imported into Great Britain from Australia, the produce of British free labour exclusively, at so cheap a rate as to drive the slave-grown produce of the United States out of the market.

There are twelve tide rivers, all available for steam navigation, and all having a large extent of land of the first quality for the growth of cotton, on the east coast of Australia, from Sydney to the Tropic of Capricorn; that is, along a coast of ten degrees of latitude, or nearly seven hundred English miles: and I have no hesitation

in expressing it as my decided opinion, that if her Majesty's Government were only to concede entire freedom and independence to the Australian colonies, on the highly advantageous conditions to Great Britain which I have specified above, as many as half a million of the redundant agricultural population of Great Britain and Ireland, including women and children, might be settled for the cultivation of cotton along these rivers, within a very few years, and without costing her Majesty's Government a single farthing.\* Our Land Fund, properly managed, would cover the whole expense. The effect of such an emigration on the pauperism and crime of the United Kingdom, independently of its results to the cotton-spinners of Manchester and Glasgow, would be salutary in the highest degree. It would certainly not permanently diminish the home population; but it would greatly improve the circumstances and condition of those who should remain.

As to the probable effects of such an emigration, for such a purpose, on the commercial relations of the mother-country, the extensive production of cotton in Australia,—which I am confident is destined to bring far more wealth into that country than all its mines,—would at once put an end to the present dependence of Great Britain on the United States for the raw produce for her national manufactures. And as it is now no

\* These rivers are the Hawkesbury, the Hunter, the Manning, the Hastings, the McLeay, the Clarence, the Richmond, the Tweed, the Logan, the Brisbane, the Pine, the Mary; besides several others of lesser note. The Hawkesbury has been long settled by a European population of small farmers, who grow wheat and maize almost exclusively. On the Hunter, there is much capital and labour already engaged in the cultivation of the vine and of tobacco, which it would not be desirable to interfere with; but all the other rivers are open and remarkably adapted for cotton cultivation.

longer a matter of doubt that we can grow cotton of superior quality for the British market, at a cheaper rate than the same quality can be grown at by the American slaveholder, we should in all likelihood compel the latter *to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free.*\*

The much greater distance of Australia from the European market is commonly regarded as an insurmountable obstacle to our success in competing with the Americans; but it is really no obstacle at all. The vessel in which I am now writing is actually carrying home nearly 2,000 bales of Australian wool *at a halfpenny a pound*; while the usual freight of cotton (which can be packed much more closely without hurting the fibre), from New Orleans to Liverpool, is three farthings a pound. But even supposing the freight of Australian cotton to be a penny a pound, which it is not likely to exceed, what is that amount on the value of an article worth from one to two shillings a pound? We compete successfully with all the world in wool, notwithstanding the distance. Why, then, should we not compete successfully with the Americans in cotton?

\* There is certainly no country in Christendom that has a stronger interest in maintaining things as they are, as far as *we* are concerned, or in preventing Great Britain from conceding Freedom and Independence to Australia, than the United States. For although we should have no such intention, we should certainly, if we could only obtain our freedom and independence, do a serious injury to that country in several most important respects.

1. We should divert a large portion of the stream of emigration, which now sets so strongly to the United States, to the land of Freedom and Gold in the Southern Hemisphere.

2. We should certainly be able to undersell the Americans in all the finer descriptions of cotton in the Liverpool and Manchester market; and I am confident also that

3. We should thereby give such a deadly blow to the peculiar institution of slavery as it has never yet received.

But brilliant as this prospect is for Great Britain, and especially for the manufacturing interests of the United Kingdom, I confess I despair of anything of the kind being ever realized till we obtain our entire freedom and independence, and till we are fairly rid of the *incubus* of the Colonial Office for ever.

“ Now's the day, and now's the hour,”

for the settlement of this great national question—it may be too late to-morrow.

V. *Annexation, and colonization, especially to the northward, would progress rapidly, and most beneficially both for Great Britain and for humanity.* Were a National Government established for the united provinces of Australia, in the way I have proposed, the process which is technically called *annexation* would in all likelihood proceed as rapidly in that country as it is now doing in the United States, and in a far less exceptionable way. I am confident, at all events, that three years would not elapse, from the period of its establishment, till the mother country would be earnestly petitioned by the colony of New Zealand for permission to form a part of the great Australian Union, as an additional province—of course, on precisely the same conditions as to emigration and no hostile tariff, as the provinces of Australia. For the benefits of a Local Government for all domestic matters on the spot, and the head-quarters of a National Government for all higher matters within a week's sail, are incalculable—especially to any colony that has been unhappy enough to experience the enormous evils of the present system. And I am equally confident, that so far from sinking, Great Britain would rise exceedingly in the estimation of the whole civilized world, from adopting the policy I recommend. Her colonies would then be an inestimable

benefit, instead of being a burden, as they have hitherto been, to the nation; and she would then be the subject of the most devoted attachment on the part of the present colonists, instead of being, as she is now, the object of their dissatisfaction and constantly increasing alienation.

A National Government in Eastern Australia would also, I am confident, make immediate and energetic arrangements for the occupation and settlement of the great island of New Guinea, immediately to the northward of Cape York. Although that great island, which is as large as all France, and probably as valuable as all the British West India islands together, could scarcely be colonized by any European power, without great expense and loss, it could be colonized with the utmost facility by the National Government of Eastern Australia, from any settlement formed at the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria. The valuable nutmeg tree is indigenous in New Guinea, as well as in the Molucca Islands; and its Aborigines appear to be a decidedly improvable race, as compared with their congeners in Australia. Some of its tribes are agriculturists, in the interior, while others are fishermen and traders on the coast; and, like certain of the aboriginal tribes of the Archipelago far to the westward, they construct immense wooden buildings, in which all the families of a village live together, each however in its separate compartment as on board ship, the unmarried men having a separate house for themselves.

New Guinea would ultimately become a province—if not more than one—of the Australian Union, and would prove, like the East and West Indies, to the adventurous youth of the Southern provinces, who would there grow tropical productions by means of Aboriginal, Malayan, or Chinese labour. With such labour, which can always

be obtained in these localities to any conceivable extent, and sustained at a far smaller cost than that of negro slaves, I am confident that Australia would very soon be able to undersell the slave-grown produce of the United States, the Brazils and Cuba, in all the markets of Europe.

One or two other provinces might also be formed, as parts of the great Australian Union, from the islands of the Western Pacific; with the island of New Caledonia, perhaps, as the head quarters of one of them. For although the Emperor Louis Napoleon has recently *annexed* and occupied the latter island as a French colony, or rather as a naval and military station, in the Pacific, there can be no doubt whatever that his principal, if not his sole object in that costly proceeding was simply to create a counterpoise to the imaginary power of Britain in these seas. There is reason to believe, therefore, that if Australia were becoming free and independent, and such counterpoise no longer necessary, the French emperor would only be too glad to follow the example of his uncle, and to dispose of his colony of New Caledonia to the United Provinces of Australia, as the first Napoleon did of Louisiana to the United States, for what it had cost him. The folly of paying an enormous price for what can otherwise be got for nothing is not likely to be exhibited by Louis Napoleon.

In one word, it is quite in the power of Great Britain, by a single Act of grace (which, so far from implying any real sacrifice on her own part, would be productive of extraordinary and incalculable benefits to her people), to give existence to one of the mightiest Powers on earth, in the Australian seas—a Power that would form the only formidable rival to the United States out of Europe. With a coast-line extending

from the South Cape of Van Dieman's Land to the Equator (including the island of New Guinea), and with whole groups of islands in the Western Pacific looking up to her National Government as their common parent and protector, where is there elsewhere on earth the prospect of so vast a power being called into existence, and within so short a period also, as that in which this entire *ideal* might be fully realized? It appears to me peculiarly desirable for Great Britain to have such a power in these regions bound to herself, as the one supposed would necessarily be, by the strongest ties, considering the vast ambition of our brother Jonathan. We are incomparably better situated in Australia for commanding the trade of the Eastern Seas, than the Americans are in California and the Oregon territory; and it must evidently be the highest interest of Britain that we should grow and prosper. The boundless extension of her own trade, and the happiness of myriads of her people, are indissolubly bound up with the freedom and independence of Australia. Why then should she imperil these mighty and substantial advantages for a mere empty and valueless possession—the mere whistle of a name? I cannot imagine anything either more interesting or more beautiful for the moralist, for the philanthropist, for the Christian man, than the strong and devoted attachment which would immediately spring up and ever afterwards subsist on the part of the whole Australian people towards Great Britain, if she were only to do us this one act of justice—to give us our freedom and independence.

*VI. The cause of education, morals, and religion would advance and prosper.* I am strongly of opinion that the freedom and independence of the Australian provinces would give a wonderful impulse to the cause of



popular education throughout these provinces. In the new States of America large appropriations of the public lands are uniformly made by Congress for general education from the very first; and these school-lands are placed under able and vigilant trustees, who realise the largest possible revenue obtainable from them, for the particular object of their destination; it being the general belief of men of intelligence and public spirit in the United States, that the republican institutions of the country could not be sustained, if the people were not generally a well-educated people. The proportion set apart for the support of education in the new States is every 36th allotment; and it is an interesting fact, as illustrative of the effect which republican institutions have upon a people, in inducing them to support institutions for education, that the State of Connecticut, having had a portion of waste land in the state of Ohio, somewhat larger than the whole kingdom of Holland, assigned to it after the Revolution, in lieu of certain claims for territory to the westward which it agreed to relinquish for the public benefit, nobly resolved to set apart the whole of this princely domain for the support of education. It is lamentable, however, to think that not one acre of public land has ever yet been appropriated in Australia for education; but this is only one of the many benefits and blessings of Downing Street colonization.

I am persuaded that liberal appropriations would in like manner be made by any popular government in Australia for education of all kinds—for common schools, for academies, for colleges, and for universities—and that a noble field would thus be opened up for emigrants of standing and ability in all the liberal professions, and especially in all departments connected with the education of youth. That education should become popular

in any country, it is absolutely necessary that its professors should be respected; and this very desirable consummation can only be arrived at by giving them salaries that will place them on the same level with other respectable men. The rector of a public academy or high school in the city of Boston, in Massachusetts, receives as high a salary from the public as the Governor of the State.\*

It will scarcely be necessary, after the sketches I have felt myself constrained to give of the recent inmates of Government House, Sydney, to inform the reader that the morals of the people would be promoted to a wonderful degree by the achievement of their national freedom. The influence of an immoral and worthless ruler, in lowering the standard of public morals throughout an entire community, is incalculable. Like an iceberg in the great Southern Ocean, it lowers the moral temperature for leagues around.

Besides, the virtual exclusion of the great body of the people, including even the respectable classes of society, from all concern in the government of their country, under the anti-popular institutions that have hitherto prevailed in the Australian colonies, have rendered them positively indifferent on the subject, and made them concentrate all their hopes and affections on the grovelling pursuit of wealth. It is indispensably necessary for the moral welfare and advancement of society, that men should both know and feel that they *have* a country; but it is quite impossible that men should do this under such a system.

\* "It was a happy and memorable feature in the character of the American colonists, and especially of the people of New England, that the work of tuition, in all its branches, was highly honoured among them, and that no civil functionary was regarded with more respect, or crowned with more distinguished praise, than a diligent and conscientious schoolmaster.—Grahame, iii. 345.

The glorification of wealth, as the only object worthy of men's pursuit or ambition, is, as I have already had occasion to observe, the necessary result of such institutions; and although it is therefore rather our misfortune than our fault, it has necessarily a debasing influence on the entire community. The circumstance of the late General Harrison, President of the United States, living in his own *log-cabin*, on the great bend of the Ohio river—or of the late president Polk dying worth only 25,000 dollars, that is, about £5,000—reminds us of the glorious days of old Rome, and of the real and not pretended contempt of riches for which her heroic people were so remarkable :

“Privatus illis census erat brevis ;  
Commune magnum.”

“The salaries of their public functionaries, and the estates of private individuals, were then comparatively small ; but the wealth and power of the State were proportionably great.”\* The creed of the Mussulman is, “There is no God but Allah, and Mahomet is his Prophet :” but the creed which is virtually taught by the

\* Curius Dentatus, having been presented by the Roman people with fifty acres of land, on account of the great ability and bravery he had exhibited in gaining a victory over Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, for which he had also been honoured with a triumph, declined receiving the gift, which he thought too great, and was content with the usual plebeian allotment of seven acres.—Columella, i. 3. (I think I am indebted for this illustration to Niebuhr, but I have omitted to mark the reference.) I wonder what this honest old Roman would have thought of *our* Mr. Wentworth—a patriot, like himself—claiming, from the late Sir George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales, the recognition of his *right* to the whole of the Middle Island of New Zealand, or about twenty millions of acres, under the notorious pretext of having purchased it, forsooth, for a few hatchets and blankets, from a few of the natives ! It is impossible, from the nature of things, that genuine patriotism can co-exist in the same breast with such enormous greed.

institutions which have hitherto prevailed in the Australian colonies, is, "There is no God but Mammon, and we are all his worshippers."

I am equally confident that the triumphs of Christianity, in its purest forms, would be rapid, signal, and extensive under the flag of entire freedom and national independence in Australia. The present Australian colonial system, of supporting all forms of religion equally from the Treasury of the State, is essentially latitudinarian and infidel in its character, and therefore necessarily irreligious and demoralising in its tendency. It would never be permitted to subsist under the reign of freedom and independence. There would then be a fair field for all, and no favour to any; and as the truth is great, it would ultimately prevail. At the same time it is one of the profoundest mysteries in the history of man, that the progressive landing of 50,000 British criminals on the shores of Australia should have been the first in that series of events which is evidently destined, in the counsels of Eternity, to issue in the occupation and settlement, the civilization and christianization of a large portion of the southern hemisphere. It reminds us, at all events, that *God's thoughts are not our thoughts, neither are our ways His ways. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are His ways higher than our ways, and His thoughts than our thoughts.\**

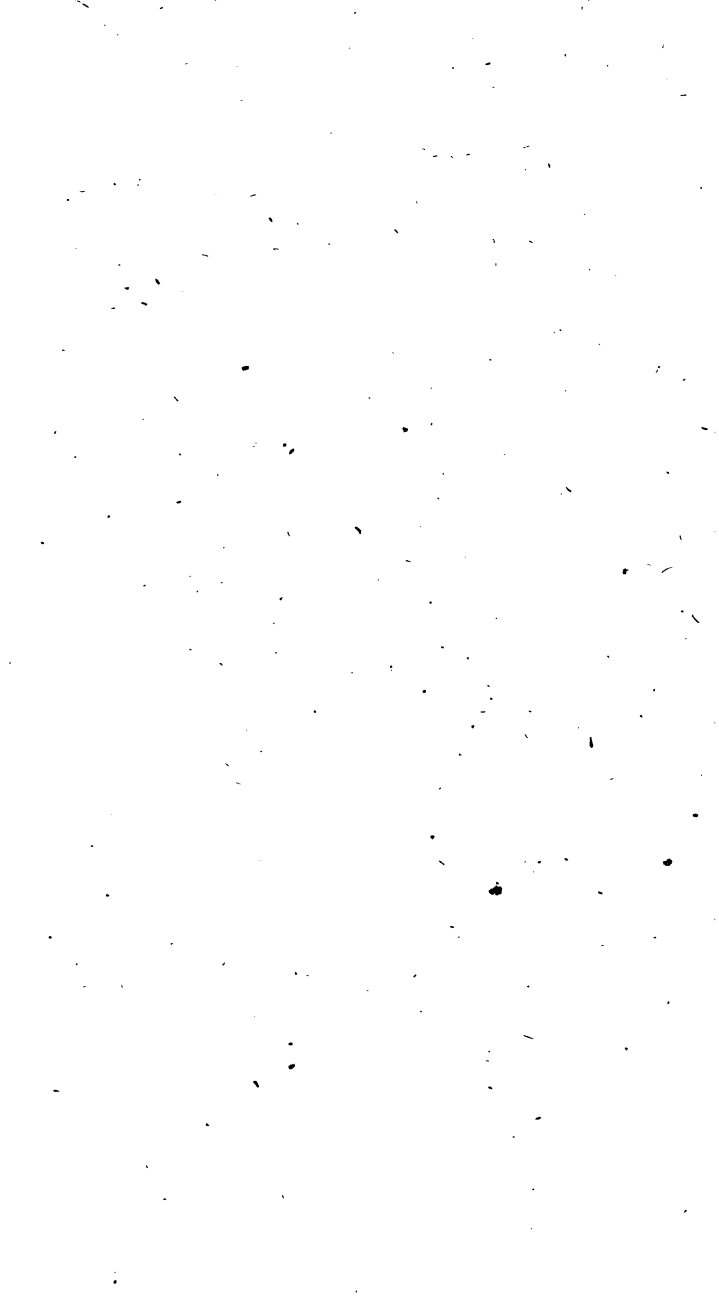
Australia is at this moment one of the most important centres of moral and Christian influence on the face of the globe. It possesses this character in a degree incomparably higher than the United States of America. The forty millions of the Mahometan and Pagan inhabitants of the Indian Archipelago, whom Christian Europe has

\* *Isaiah* lv. 8, 9.

left almost entirely uncared for these three centuries, will be brought within a few days' sail of our first settlement on the Gulf of Carpentaria. New Guinea, one of the largest islands in the world, is at our door; and *the multitude of the isles* of the Western Pacific are close upon our eastern coast, while China looms in the distance from the northern extremity of the land. There is clearly, therefore, no part of the habitable globe on which it is of more importance at this moment to plant a thoroughly Christian people than the shores of Australia. With half a million of such people—and there would be no difficulty in finding them—Australia would have a moral machinery to bring to bear upon the heathenism of the earth, unsurpassed by that of any other Christian country of equal population in the world. I confess I entertain the highest hopes of my adopted country in this important particular. I believe it is destined, in the councils of Infinite Wisdom, to be the seat of one of the first of the Christian nations of the earth, and that while *the number of its Christian people will yet be as the sand of the sea which cannot be measured or numbered, it shall come to pass that in the place where it was said unto them, Ye are not my people, there it shall be said unto them, Ye are the sons of the living God.\**

\* *Hosea, i. 10.*

FINIS.



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